The Forum

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THE NEW FINANCIAL LAW.

LEGISLATION has been passed fixing beyond all equivocation or doubt what is and what is to be the monetary standard of the United States. This legislation is something more than a mere declaration. The new financial law, which has just been written on the statute books, not only declares that all forms of money of the United States shall be maintained at a parity of value with the gold standard, but it makes it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain such a parity, and puts in his hands an ample measure of power to fulfil that duty.

When this financial measure received the sanction of the President and became an effective law, there was brought to a practical end what has been for a considerable time the foremost political issue in this country. There was, indeed, brought to a conclusion a controversy which had for a century occupied the attention of political parties and of financiers. The prescience of the makers of the Constitution, much as it has been rightfully lauded, was not equal to seeing the difficulties that would follow the provision made indifferently for the coinage of both gold and silver; and it was not long after 1800 that the difficulties of maintaining a double standard of value began to be observed. By the end of the second decade of the century the gold coin had left the country, and Congressional committees were inquiring into the reasons. Ten years later the Secretary of the Treasury declared bimetallism a practical impossibility. Congress, however, declined to support that sound conclusion, but attempted to bring both metals again into

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circulation by a change in the coinage ratio. The measure did more than was expected for it, as not many years passed before silver disappeared from circulation even more completely than the gold had disappeared. We had the gold standard and gold coin only when specie payment was suspended in 1861 ; and the resumption of specie payments in 1879 meant the resumption of gold payments on the obligations of the United States.

In the meantime, the silver dollar became obsolete ; and no silver dollars being in circulation for many years, that fact was recognized, and the coin was dropped from the mint list. With the increased production of silver, and the fall in the commercial value of the bullion, which began about 1875, there also began a movement for the resumption of silver coinage which, during the twenty-five years following, has been much of the time the chief point of political controversy between the great parties, and during that period has been an element of the very first importance in the commercial affairs of the nation.

In response to the demand for the coinage of silver there came, first, the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, providing for the purchase of a limited amount of silver each month, and its coinage into dollars. That was superseded by the Sherman Act, providing for a still larger purchase of silver bullion, to be paid for by the issue of Treasury notes, the notes in turn to be redeemable in "coin." Action under that law was suspended in 1893, and since then there has been no addition to the silver coinage ; but the question of free coinage of silver came forward as almost the exclusive question on which party lines were drawn in 1896. The Republican party in its platform declared squarely in favor of the gold standard. The political campaign was waged almost solely along the lines of this financial question, and the verdict was in favor of the single standard. The law which has now been enacted carries out fully the promise that was made in the St. Louis platform, and under the circumstances carries out that promise as speedily as could well have been done.

There was one necessity paramount to the need for financial legislation when Congress assembled in 1897. That was the necessity for providing adequate revenue ; and the attention of the special session of Congress, which President McKinley called immediately after his inauguration, was devoted to the framing of a revenue measure. When Congress met in regular session in December, the Secretary of the Treasury outlined a financial policy as strong as the warmest

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friends of sound money could wish. He went further, and formulated a bill. It is interesting to note that every feature of the present financial act was contained in the bill brought forward by Secretary Gage in almost the same form as it has now become a law. The Secretary provided for the redemption of the several classes of paper money in gold, this to be accomplished through an Issue and Redemption Division, the funds in which should be kept quite distinct from the general fund of the Treasury. His measure provided for the refunding of the outstanding bonds into a new, low-rate bond, for the issue of national bank circulating notes up to par of the bonds deposited, and for other minor matters that are contained in the law which has just gone into effect.

Secretary Gage also advocated, in the measure which he presented, that national banks which had taken 80 per cent of their capital in circulation should be permitted to issue an additional 20 per cent of their capital in circulating notes secured on the assets of the bank, the amount of such issue being kept down under a repressive tax, so that such notes would only be put out in times of distinct commercial need. That step which the Secretary recommended has not yet been taken ; but the measure which has been enacted, so far as it goes, is strictly in harmony with the Secretary's earliest recommendations. The only essential difference lies in the fact that no issue of national bank circulation is provided for except that secured by deposits of United States bonds.

Not much progress was made with financial legislation in the winter of 1897–1898. The Senate was adverse to any gold standard legislation, and that in itself was sufficient to make impossible any effective action along that line. But the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph H. Walker, of Massachusetts, was hopelessly unable to come to any agreement. Mr. Walker could see no good except in his own particular financial measure ; and several other members of the Committee became almost as much wedded to their individual plans. Nearly all of those plans were good, but all through that session of Congress there was an utter impossibility of so harmonizing the members of the Committee that they could unite on any single measure ; and the result was, that no measure was seriously taken up by the House. With the elections of the following fall, a strong majority in favor of the gold standard was insured in the Senate, and the prospect for effective legislation brightened.

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In January, 1899, the Republican leaders in the House decided in caucus that a Committee should be appointed to draft a financial measure. That Committee was appointed by Gen. Grosvenor, of Ohio, and was selected with great wisdom. It contained only members who had been reëlected to the next Congress, and no one who was so devoted to his own ideas of what form currency legislation should take that he would be unable to harmonize his views with those of the majority.

The work of the caucus Committee was a political as well as a financial task. It was not only necessary to frame legislation which would be wise from an economic point of view, but it was necessary that the proposed measure should command the united support of the majority. The caucus, which was held February, 1899, agreed, by a practically unanimous vote, to the appointment of a Committee to draft a bill which should be taken up for consideration as soon as Congress reassembled in December.

The Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee also set to work to prepare a bill; and both the House caucus Committee and the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee worked during the summer recess in preparing such a measure as would, on the one hand, meet every pledge and satisfy the adherents of sound money, and which would, on the other hand, be of such a character as to draw to the measure the full support of a majority, which was, especially in the House, none too large. The measure framed by the House caucus Committee was presented as the first bill offered when Congress assembled in December; going on the calendar as House Bill No. 1. It provided in the most unequivocal terms for the establishment of the gold standard, and made some changes in the national banking law, which included a repeal of the tax on circulation and the substitution therefor of a tax on franchises of national banks, as measured by their capital, surplus, and undivided profits.

The measure was quickly put through the House, under the spur of the majority, passing December 18. The vote in its favor was much stronger than the party strength, every Republican voting for it and eleven Democrats also voting in its favor, making a final tally of 190 to 150. The measure then went to the Senate, and was taken up for consideration early in January, when the bill agreed upon by the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee was substituted. That measure was somewhat less definite in its provisions for maintaining the redemption of all forms of money in gold. It did not ac-

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cept the House plan for taxing bank franchises instead of circulation, and it provided an entirely new feature in the form of a refunding clause which would permit the Secretary of the Treasury to convert some $836,000,000 of 3, 4, and 5 per cent bonds into 2 per cent bonds. The Senate bill passed by a vote of forty-six to twenty-nine, every Republican but one voting for it, and two Democrats also voting in favor of it.

When the measure went to conference there was the delicate task of harmonizing the two bills, so that the act which the Conference Committee should report would receive the full strength of the support which the original measures had received. The House was strongly in favor of more explicit language in regard to gold redemptions than the Senate had used. Especially strenuous was the House in favor of legislation which should preclude absolutely the recurrence of such conditions as led during the former administration to the "endless chain"—a redemption of legal tender notes in gold, their payment out because of a deficient revenue, and their presentation again for redemption. It was that process going over and over which brought the Treasury and the country so near a financial crisis in 1893; and the majority in the House was strong in its demands for legislation which would absolutely prevent a recurrence of such a situation. That view was impressed upon the Conference Report; and the measure which finally became a law provided that notes redeemed in gold should not be used to meet deficiencies in current revenues. The refunding measure was retained, and in general the Conference Report was closely in line with the Senate's original measure.

It is of interest to examine the completed legislation, and to note just what it is that has been enacted into law. In the first place, and most important of all, is the affirmation as to the standard unit of value, the declaration that it is the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain all forms of money of the United States at a parity with that standard of value, and the provision of adequate means for carrying out this direction. The measure provides that, in order to secure the prompt redemption in gold of United States notes and Treasury notes, there shall be established divisions of issue and redemption in the Treasury Department, and that in the division of redemption there shall be set apart a reserve fund of $150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion, which fund is to be established for such redemptions, and for such redemptions only.

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There has heretofore been no specific law authorizing any particular sum as a reserve to meet the redemption of greenbacks. The only semblance of such a specific statute was the provision relating to the issue of gold certificates. That provision directed that the issue of gold certificates should be suspended whenever the gold in the Treasury fell below $100,000,000. The establishment of a definite gold reserve for the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes crystallizes into law what has for some years been the practice of the Treasury; but it goes much farther than that practice has gone. It makes the reserve $150,000,000, and it absolutely separates it from the general fund of the Treasury.

The daily statement of the condition of the Treasury, following the passage of this act, showed a reduction of the available cash balance by $150,000,000. That amount of gold coin and bullion has to all intents and purposes been absolutely taken out of the general fund of the Treasury, and is no longer in any wise available for expenditures. It stands quite by itself in the division of redemption, and its total can neither be increased nor diminished. When notes are redeemed, the notes so redeemed may be exchanged for gold in the general fund, or exchanged with the public for gold, or may be used to purchase gold; but if the gold in the general fund becomes exhausted, and the Treasurer cannot build up this reserve fund again by the exchange of the redeemed notes for gold, then the Secretary—should the amount of notes in the reserve fund rise to $50,000,000, and the gold in the fund correspondingly fall below $100,000,000—shall restore the gold to the maximum sum of $150,000,000, by selling 3 per cent bonds, such bonds to be payable at the pleasure of the United States after one year from date.

In the case of deficient revenue, it will no longer be a possible thing for the deficiency to be made up by the sale of bonds ostensibly to provide gold for the redemption of United States notes. The endless chain which permitted such redemptions and withdrawals to go on in 1893 and 1894 is broken by that provision of the new law which prohibits the use of redeemed notes to meet deficiencies in current revenues. The issue division which is established in the Treasury has transferred to it all the coin held for the redemption of outstanding gold, silver, and currency certificates, and all of the silver dollars and silver bullion purchased under the act of 1890 held against Treasury notes. This transfer from the general fund to the divisions of issue and redemption of $150,000,000 of gold for the redemption of United

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States notes and Treasury notes, and of some $720,000,000 of gold and silver coin and bullion held against gold and silver certificates and Treasury notes, and of United States notes held against currency certificates, leaves the general fund free from any obligations of redemption, and distinctly separates those two divisions of the Treasury—the one concerned with the issue and redemption of currency, and the other with the collections of revenue and the disbursements of expenditures.

Under the action of the new law all Treasury notes within a comparatively short time will be wiped out, their place being taken by silver certificates; for it is provided that as fast as the bullion purchased under the Act of 1890 is coined, the Secretary shall retire and cancel an equal amount of Treasury notes, issuing silver certificates against the coined silver dollars. There is now in the Treasury $78,000,000 of silver bullion; and that will be coined at the rate of from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000 a month, arrangements having been made to double immediately the present coinage of silver dollars. The Secretary is permitted to continue the issue of gold certificates against deposits of gold coin; but whenever the gold in the reserve fund falls below $100,000,000, the authority to issue certificates is suspended, and remains suspended while the gold fund is below that limit. It is provided, also, that whenever the United States notes and Treasury notes in the general fund shall exceed $60,000,000, the Secretary may suspend the issue of gold certificates.

The refunding clause of the act gives discretion to the Secretary of the Treasury to refund all of the 3 per cent Spanish War loan issued in 1898, amounting to $198,791,440, all of the 4 per cent bonds maturing in 1907, amounting to $545,345,200, and all of the 5 per cents maturing in 1904, amounting to $95,009,700—a total of $839,146,340. It is provided that there may be exchanged for those bonds an equal amount of 2 per cent bonds which will be payable specifically, principal and interest, in gold, and may be redeemed by the Government at its pleasure any time after thirty years. As the higher-rate outstanding bonds are not now payable by the Government, their redemption, of course, is entirely optional with the holders. It is provided that they may be taken in at a premium, the premium to be not greater than their present worth, to yield an income of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum; and the premium is to be paid in cash. That is to say, the price at which the Treasury will redeem the 3 per cent, 4 per cent, and 5 per cent bonds is such a price as would be equivalent, should

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they run to maturity, to interest at the rate of 2¼ per cent per annum.

In the case of the 3 per cent bonds that price on April 1 will be 105.6851, of the 4's, 111.6765, of the 5's, 110.0751. None of these new 2 per cent bonds will be offered for sale; and the only way they can be issued is in exchange for an equal par value of either 3 per cent, 4 per cent, or 5 per cent bonds. This exchange provides for the retirement and consolidation of all the bonded debt of the United States, excepting the 4 per cent bonds of 1925, amounting to $162,315,400, and the 2 per cent bonds into which were converted the 4½ per cent bonds, maturing at the option of the United States, amounting to $25,364,500. This funding operation is peculiar in that it is an operation which is profitable both to the United States and to the holders of outstanding bonds. If all the bonds which it is proposed to refund are exchanged for the new 2 per cent bonds, the Government will make a net profit of $22,695,509. The Treasury in that event will put out in place of the 3's, 4's, and 5's, an equal amount, par value, of 2 per cent bonds. It will pay in premiums $86,495,821. But the total amount which would be paid in interest, principal, and premium, under the refunding arrangement, would be nearly $23,000,000 less than the total payment of principal and interest, if the old bonds should not be refunded.

This gives rise to the natural questions, "Why should the holders of bonds make a sacrifice of this sort?" "Why should they give up bonds at a price which would net them 2¼ per cent to obtain bonds which will pay them but 2 per cent?" One reason for that is to be found in the fact that the new bonds are specifically payable, principal and interest, in gold. But that cannot be a strong incentive, in view of the fact that the law which provides for the refunding also establishes on a parity with gold every other form of money. The new bonds are a longer time bond, running at least for thirty years, and that is of some advantage. The real motive for making the exchange, however, lies in the provision of the bill discriminating in favor of these new bonds as a basis for circulation for national bank-notes.

A national bank under this law may issue circulating notes up to an amount equal to its capital stock, depositing with the Treasurer of the United States as security for its circulation an equal amount of any form of United States bonds. Heretofore it could issue only up to 90 per cent of its capital, and 90 per cent of the par value of

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Government bonds deposited. There has heretofore been a tax of 1 per cent on the average amount of circulation outstanding. That tax remains the same under the new law except as to circulation based on deposits of the new 2 per cent bonds. Banks taking out circulation on these new bonds will have that circulation taxed only one-half of 1 per cent. This discrimination in favor of circulation based on the new bonds furnishes the incentive to make a bank ready to sacrifice something in the way of interest in order to get the new bonds as a basis for circulating notes.

It will be a matter of the greatest interest to financiers to watch the operation of this new law in respect to national bank circulation. Opinions vary widely as to just what the effect will be. It is evident that the first effect will be, that all banks will increase the amount of their circulating notes up to the par value of the bonds they have deposited. The amount of bonds deposited to secure circulation is $242,166,170 ; and the increase from 90 per cent of that amount to 100 per cent will give an additional national bank-note circulation of $24,216,617. The total capital of all national banks is $616,208,095, showing a possible inflation under the new law from the $253,139,367 now outstanding to a total equal to the aggregate capital, which would be an increase of $363,000,000.

With the price of the new 2 per cent bonds at par, it would be decidedly more profitable to a bank to take out circulation than it has been with the old bonds at ruling quotations. It has been calculated by the Government Actuary that a bank with $100,000 capital, by taking out $100,000 of circulation based on 2 per cent bonds, would make a profit, could it obtain those bonds at par, of $1,437.50 more than if it invested the cost of the bonds at the same rate at which it might be able to loan out the new circulation. That incentive would undoubtedly be sufficient to make a very large increase in national bank-note circulation. Prices for the new bonds, however, seem likely to be above par. Quotations as high as 106 were made before the law authorizing their issue was actually passed; and at that price the profit on circulation is reduced to $1,093, as against $1,437.50 with the bonds at par. It seems probable that the price of the new bonds will be so far advanced that the incentive to take out circulation will in the end be about the same as it has been with the old outstanding bonds, and that an equilibrium will be reached where the price of the bond is so high as just about to balance the incentive to take out circulation ; and the total circulation will, after that, show little change. Until

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that point is reached, however, there is likely to be a steady increase in the amount of circulation.

The law also changes the existing national bank legislation so as to permit the organization of banks with $25,000 capital in any place where the population does not exceed 3,000 inhabitants. This will undoubtedly lead to the organization of a large number of small banks. Applications in the office of the Comptroller of the Currency indicate something like 150 additional banks of that character as likely to be almost immediately organized. The work of redemption of notes will be lightened by a clause of the bill which provides that hereafter silver certificates shall be issued only in denominations of ten dollars and under, except that not exceeding 10 per cent of the total volume may be in larger denominations. The field of small note circulation is to be given over more completely to silver certificates, by providing that a like volume of United States notes of less denominations than ten dollars shall, from time to time, be retired, and replaced with larger denominations as the larger denominations of silver certificates are broken up into denominations of ten dollars and under. National bank-notes are also removed from the small note field, by a provision that only one-third of the circulating notes of any national bank may be of denominations less than ten dollars.

The passage of this measure is the final act in the controversy over a double standard which has lasted during almost the whole history of our Government. It is too much to say, however, that it is a final settlement of the currency questions of the day. A solid foundation is laid when the country is placed squarely on the single gold standard and adequate means are provided for keeping it there ; but there are still unscientific features in our currency, and much remains to be worked out regarding bank-note issues that shall respond, in volume, to the commercial needs of the day rather than to the market price for Government bonds.

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THE PUERTO RICAN RELIEF BILL.

THE Puerto Rican Bill which passed the House of Representatives on March 1, 1900, has been much misunderstood. Though for a time public sentiment appeared strongly opposed to it, it is, nevertheless, a just and meritorious measure. As it passed the House it provided that the tariffs, customs, and duties to be collected upon all articles imported into Puerto Rico from ports other than those of the United States should be the same as those collected upon articles imported into the United States from foreign countries. It provided, also, that the rate of duty to be paid on all imports from Puerto Rico into the United States and from the United States into Puerto Rico should be 15 per cent of the duties charged on like articles from other foreign ports, with this proviso, that all articles imported from Puerto Rico into the United States subject to internal revenue duty in this country should pay this custom duty of 15 per cent plus the regular revenue tax on articles of that class produced or manufactured in the United States.

The criticisms of the bill were not directed against the rates of custom duties charged on articles imported from foreign countries into Puerto Rico. The consensus of opinion was, that those rates were equitable and just. The broad claim was made, however, by the Democrats of the House and by a few Republicans, that there should be absolutely free trade on all articles imported from Puerto Rico into the United States and from the United States into Puerto Rico. Those who opposed the bill based their objections upon two grounds: (1) that all import duties levied on articles imported from Puerto Rico into the United States and from the United States into Puerto Rico were unfair and unjust to the Puerto Ricans; and (2) that under the Paris Treaty of Peace, between Spain and the United States, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands became integral parts of the United States, and that Congress had no more constitutional authority to impose custom rates on the Puerto Ricans, as proposed in this bill, than it had to make like impositions of custom duties on the products of New Mexico or Arizona imported into the States.

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Both of these objections to the bill have been ably discussed in the House of Representatives and in the newspapers of the country. However, if the conditions of the Puerto Ricans were completely understood, and if our people could fully appreciate the effect upon the farmers and laboring people of the United States should the constitutional contention of the Democrats be upheld by the Supreme Court, it would be seen that the measure was both just and wise.

When Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, we took over with it the responsibility of providing a government for the people of the Island; and the problem of how to raise the money for this purpose was presented to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. After a careful investigation of the subject, Gen. Davis, the present Military Governor, has estimated that the expenditures for the next fiscal year, to administer the affairs of the Island, will aggregate $1,943,678.71. Of this amount, he proposes to use $300,000 for the construction of school-houses and in the establishment of schools, and $300,000 for the construction and improvement of highways. The balance is to be used in defraying the expenses of a civil government.

To start Puerto Rico on the way to progress is not an easy matter, and will involve the outlay of considerable money. While the soil is rich and productive, the people on the whole are not prosperous. The total population, at the present time, is estimated at 1,000,000 souls—620,000 whites, 300,000 mulattoes, and 80,000 full-blooded negroes. As the superficial area of the Island is estimated at 3,150 to 3,860 square miles, Puerto Rico is clearly one of the most densely populated portions of the globe. One-third of the population is made up of paupers, and the great majority of the people are dependent upon their daily wages for support. The wages of the common field hands range from thirty-five to fifty cents a day, native money; *i.e.*, from twenty-one to thirty cents a day, American money.

Of the total population of Puerto Rico not more than 12½ per cent can read and write the Spanish language, and less than one-tenth of 1 per cent can read and write the English language. Prior to the cession of Puerto Rico to the United States, not a single building was ever constructed as a school-house. Under the Spanish rule, there were excuses for schools at various places; but they were in rented buildings, and the schools were conducted in a manner that made them of little benefit to the people.

To make matters worse, this beautiful Island was visited, on Au-

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gust 8, 1899, by a tropical terror, which was particularly destructive on the eastern and southern coasts, and in the interior. Yabucoa was made a heap of ruins ; the old port and town of Arroyo were practically destroyed ; and great damage was done at Ponce. The coffee and cane crops were greatly damaged, and in some parts of the Island entirely ruined. Between 2,000 and 3,000 persons lost their lives, and a great deal of the live stock was destroyed. The great damage caused by this hurricane seriously impaired the ability of the Puerto Ricans to raise the revenue required to defray the expenses of the government, either by direct taxation or otherwise.

When the matter of raising the needed revenue came up in the House of Representatives, three methods were suggested : (1) a loan of several million dollars, and the bonding of the Island for its payment ; (2) a direct appropriation from the Treasury of the United States; and (3) the revenue bill approved by the House of Representatives.

The policy of bonding the Island for an amount sufficient to meet the present and future needs of the people did not meet with approval. The Island was free from debt when it was ceded to the United States by Spain. With its rich and productive soil, and with the added stimulus given to the people under a freer and more humane government, it was thought to be poor policy to handicap the inhabitants by fastening upon them, at the very inception of their new national life, a large bonded indebtedness.

Again, nobody could look with favor upon a direct appropriation from the Treasury of the United States to pay the expenses incurred in administering the civil affairs of Puerto Rico. This would be supporting the people of the Island by taxing the people of the United States—a method of meeting the emergency which was deemed to be unwise as well as unjust.

The way of meeting the case by imposing the indirect taxation of custom duties was finally looked upon as the most advisable system of taxation, because it is the easiest to collect, and the least felt by those required to pay it. This method is represented by the Puerto Rican Bill which passed the House. The bill does not establish a system of government for Puerto Rico, nor does it profess by its terms to be a permanent system for raising revenue. It is only temporary in character, and was passed to meet the existing emergency. While it will serve to raise a revenue of more than $2,000,000 annually, no part of the sum will go into the Treasury of the United States. All

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the money collected, under the provisions of the bill, at Puerto Rican ports, and at those of the United States, will be placed in the hands of the President, to be used for the sole benefit of the Puerto Ricans —to defray the expenses of the civil government and to improve the conditions of the people.

Under the existing law all products imported into the United States from Puerto Rico pay the full rates of custom duties imposed by the Dingley law. Under this bill the Dingley rates are reduced 85 per cent. An analysis of the bill will show that it is not inimical to the Puerto Ricans, but that, on the contrary, it is directly to their interest, as it gives to the Island a revenue sufficient to meet all necessary expenditures, without subjecting the Puerto Ricans to the charge that we are doing charitable work for them, which charge might be made if the money needed for the government of the Island were taken out of the United States Treasury. The provisions of the bill make the Island self-supporting by following the same system of raising revenue that has been in force in the United States since the formation of our constitutional government.

The constitutional objection raised to the bill is entitled to more than passing consideration. The members of the House who opposed it on constitutional grounds made the bold claim that, under the Paris Treaty, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands became integral parts of the United States to the same extent as Oklahoma or the Indian Territory; that, by virtue of the Treaty of cession to the United States, the people living in those Islands became American citizens, under our Federal Constitution, entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed to an American citizen in any one of the States. They also insisted that all forms of taxation, including custom dues, internal revenue, and direct taxation, must be uniform not only in the States that form the Federal Republic, but throughout these Islands as well; that, without additional legislation, our navigation laws extended to all the ports of these newly acquired possessions; and that not only the products raised and manufactured in Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands could be brought into the ports of the United States free of any custom duties and without any prohibition or other limitations, but that the people had the right to come to any portion of the United States as freely and uninterruptedly as the citizens of any one State had the right to go into any other State. This contention is startling in the extreme; and if it be true, the American people did not realize what their Representatives were

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doing when the Treaty of Peace, negotiated by our Commissioners at Paris, under the direction of the President, was approved by the Senate of the United States, and ratified by Congress.

It will be remembered that these Islands came to us through the fortunes of war—a war brought on not by the action of the Republican party, but by the people of the United States, through their Representatives, regardless of party considerations. The overwhelming public sentiment of the country was also in favor of the retention of the Philippine Islands as well as of Puerto Rico. The Treaty was ratified by the joint approval of the Republican and Democratic parties in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Indeed, Mr. Bryan, the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party, loudly proclaimed for the ratification of the Treaty and the cession of these Islands to the United States; so that the responsibility, whatever it may be, must be equally shared by Democrats and Republicans. It becomes material, therefore, to note the attitude of the respective parties concerning the legislative treatment of these Islands and their inhabitants.

Under the Democratic contention, all tariff duties on products imported from the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico are unconstitutional; free trade between them and the United States being guaranteed, the same as in the case of free trade between Illinois and Iowa. This means the breaking down of our tariff laws against the products of cheap labor. It means, also, the breaking down of all legislative protection against Asiatic coolies; the Chinese and Japanese laborers in the Hawaiian Islands and in the Philippine Archipelago becoming American citizens. It means, furthermore, that industries established in Manila and other parts of the Island of Luzon, by aggregated capital, to manufacture with cheap labor products for the use of the people of this country, have the right to send such products without let or hindrance into the United States, to compete with the products manufactured by high-priced American labor. Under this construction of the Constitution, the 11,000,000 people living in the Philippine Archipelago become a direct menace to the laboring interests of the United States; so that these Islands, instead of proving a blessing, as all Americans believed they would when Admiral Dewey achieved his brilliant victory in Manila Bay, will become a curse to the people of the United States.

These are not all the disastrous effects which, under the Democratic construction of the Constitution, will come upon the people

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of this country through the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. By the Treaty of Peace, Spain is permitted, for a limited number of years, to enter all her products into the ports of those Islands under the same terms and conditions as like products are entered from the United States. If by the acquisition of those Islands free trade is established between them and the United States, then, during the period stipulated in the Treaty of Peace, Spain can have all her products entered into the ports of those Islands free of any custom duty or other taxation. Under the favored nation clause, which is found in our treaties with England, France, Germany, Russia, and other European countries, if Spain's products are entered into the ports of those Islands free of duty, the products of all these other countries are entitled to like privileges, and would also enter free of duty. From there they could be shipped to any of the ports of the United States as freely as goods are shipped from Ohio to New York. It will thus be seen that under this construction of the Constitution all our custom laws can be annulled, and the United States made absolutely a free-trade country.

It has been the dream of all patriotic Americans to increase our trade and commerce in the Orient; and our people have sympathized with every effort made by England and Japan to force Germany, France, and Russia to agree to the open-door policy in China. Moreover, it is an open secret that this Administration has been long at work in endeavoring to come to commercial agreements with the countries interested in Chinese and other Oriental trade—agreements such as would secure to America the same privileges of free and open trade in all the ports of China as are guaranteed to any other nation.

One of our inducements has been the announcement of the open-door policy of the United States in the Philippine Islands. This, however, does not mean free trade, but simply equality of trade; and this implies, that all the countries which come to such a commercial arrangement with the United States have the right to enter all their products into the ports of those Islands under terms and conditions as favorable as those under which the products imported from the United States are entered into those ports. If free trade is assured between those Islands and the United States, simply through their acquisition, then all efforts of this Administration to secure the much sought for privileges, just mentioned, in the different ports of China controlled by Germany, Russia, and France, and all hope of increasing our trade and commerce in that country must be abandoned, or

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we must accept the alternative of throwing open all our ports to the free competition of the civilized nations of the world.

The Republicans dissent *in toto* from a construction of the Constitution which will bring such accumulated calamities upon the people of the United States. They claim that those Islands are not integral parts of the United States, and that the Constitution does not, of its own vigor, extend to them. They hold that under the Constitution of the United States, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands have become the property, not a part of, the United States, and that there is no constitutional limitation upon Congress defining or restricting the character of the legislation that shall be enacted for the people of those Islands. They maintain that Congress has full right and authority to form territorial governments for the people of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands—governments adapted to climatic conditions, racial peculiarities, the industrial and political development of their peoples, and all other elements peculiar to peoples ranging from savagery to civilization.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to quote authorities and to give the reasons advanced by the Republicans in support of their contention ; but a review of the history of the various acts of Congress respecting Territories and their government—beginning with the legislation relating to the government of the Louisiana Territory, in 1803, and ending with the legislation relating to the Hawaiian Islands, enacted by the Fifty-fifth Congress—confirms the position that Congress, in providing Territories with governments, and with laws relating to the people living in those Territories, is at liberty to establish whatever kind of government it pleases, and that it has established in the past whatever sort of government was, in its judgment, best suited to meet the needs of the people. That we have free trade, under existing laws, between New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and the States, is no argument against the power of Congress to legislate for Territories regardless of any prohibitions or limitations contained in the Constitution. By treaty stipulations and by direct Acts of Congress, the provisions of the Constitution of the United States have been extended to those Territories. By the Treaty of Paris, the civil rights and the political status of the people of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands are to be determined by Congress.

As has already been shown, in preparing the Puerto Rican Bill the object was to benefit the Puerto Ricans. It is conceded, however,

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that, in framing that bill and in passing it in the House, the Republicans felt that they might as well meet this constitutional objection at the very threshold of all legislation respecting them. If this bill becomes a law, any person who feels himself aggrieved by being compelled to pay the 15 per cent custom duties can test its constitutionality; and a decision can thus be obtained from the Supreme Court of the United States on the constitutional question which divides the Republicans and the Democrats.

If the Democratic construction of the Constitution is upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, we cannot too quickly terminate our relations with the Philippine Islands. Their retention under such conditions would bring unnumbered woes to our people. If, however, the Supreme Court holds, as I believe it will, that the construction of the Constitution as contended by the Republicans is the true interpretation of that great instrument, the problem involved in the control of these Islands is made direct and simple. In that case, Congress will have the power to legislate for them in a manner suited to their conditions. They can be given larger liberties and a better civilization than they have heretofore enjoyed, without imperilling any of the safeguards which are a part of the inheritance of every American citizen, and without endangering the great laboring interests of this country—the glory of the Republic.

I maintain, therefore, that if no other question were involved in this Puerto Rican Bill, not only were the Republicans justified in passing it in the House, but their duty to their constituents and their countrymen demanded of them its enactment into law, at the earliest possible moment, so that all good citizens might know, before any direct legislation is enacted for the Philippine Islands, just what our relations to these new possessions are. ALBERT J. HOPKINS.

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RUSSIA'S LIEN ON PERSIA.

It was once said that every grave is a cradle, and every cradle a grave. This double aphorism may certainly be applied to Persia. It has been in turn the home and the tomb of empires, and its fitful history recalls to us most vividly the decline and fall of dynasties.

The past of Persia stretches back to the dawn of human history; and its present position is all the sadder when one remembers the part it has played in the early progress of the world. Its fall was not due to racial decay, nor to the sterility of the country, but to other circumstances, which had far-reaching consequences. The rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama opened a new route between Europe and Asia. The conquest of Asia Minor by the Turks completed the isolation of Persia, and cut off all communication between Europe and the remote East through Persian territory. As results of these causes Persia ceased to have direct communication with the western world, and lost touch with the ideas which have regenerated modern Europe. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the wealth of Persia, which was at one time fabulous, almost completely disappeared, and that the intellectual activity, for which it had at one time been famous, became a mere tradition.

Ten years ago, the conditions of the country presented a picture of Asiatic retrogression. The capital of each province had its own mint; and the coinage was carried on in so haphazard a manner that there was a difference of 17 per cent between coins of the same nominal standard. The Kran fluctuated so much in value as to paralyze all attempts at buying and selling, and to open a ready means for fraud and dishonesty. So uncertain a medium of exchange was in many respects inferior to the system of barter which it had superseded.

The difficulty of transporting money from one part of the country to the other, frequently by caravans of camels, was a great obstacle to inter-provincial dealings and to both the exchange and the production of the whole country. Persia had been the seat of an extensive sugar industry. The sugar-cane was grown in many parts of the

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country, and a large export trade had once been carried on. The Caspian littoral is the only district where sugar is now produced ; and the yearly export of it is only ninety tons.

In the past, the silk trade had been a flourishing industry ; but a disease which attacked the silkworm destroyed the trade, for no attempt was made, as in France and elsewhere, to introduce silkworms from other countries. Cotton could be grown in almost every province ; but up to ten years ago not a cotton gin, nor even a hydraulic press, was to be found in Persian territory. A few wooden hand-presses in Ispahan baled and packed all the cotton produced in the country. No effort had ever been made to extend the wool export trade, which without doubt has been capable of immense development. Again, with an elementary knowledge of western processes of cultivation, the area of cultivation for wheat, barley, rice, and tobacco could have been greatly increased. In Persia agriculture is carried on under the crudest conditions. One man and two oxen are occupied in ploughing one acre per day, and with a plough but little better than the shod stick used in Biblical times. A Stockton plough, to be found on any ranch in California, would not only plough many times as much in the same time, but would increase the production per acre fivefold.

A comparison with California, in respect to a few staple articles, would well illustrate the backwardness of Persia as well as her possibilities. California has just one-third the area of Persia ; yet the county of Fresno alone, which, as a fruit-growing district, is only twenty years old, exports more fruit than the whole of Persia. Though Persia is as well adapted as California to the growth of the wine grape, no Persian wine crosses the Persian frontier. California produces 54,000,000 pounds of wool, most of which is exported. The wool export of Persia reaches 6,000,000 pounds only. California exports wheat to the value of $25,000,000. Owing to lack of means of communication, and to methods of tillage 2,000 years old, not a bushel of wheat had been exported from northern Persia.

Such was Persia ten years ago, when Sir Henry Drummond Wolff came there as England's representative, and attempted the reclamation of the country. Ten years ago the fight for Persia between England and Russia was begun. At first, England scored several diplomatic victories. When Sir Henry arrived, Persia had been slumbering for centuries. Sir Henry was a man of aggressive spirit and vigorous intellect, entirely untrammelled by diplomatic conventional-

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ities and usages. He determined to make Persia a field for the investment of English capital. He prevailed upon the Shah to open the Karun River to the navigation of the world. He obtained the concession for the Imperial Bank, the Mining Rights and Road Company, the Tramway Company, the Persian Gulf Trading Company, the great concession for the monopoly of trade and export of tobacco, besides several minor undertakings.

As a result of these concessions nearly $20,000,000 of European capital was invested in productive industries in Persia. Progress and civilization were evidently on the way to this sluggish, stationary Asian Empire. The transition stage reminded one strongly of certain phases of progress through which Japan had just passed; so that Europeans, especially Englishmen, were sanguine of the ultimate reclamation of the country. The results of the work were immediately felt. In every province, Europeans were engaged in transacting the business of foreign companies. The once mythical capital of the Shah was lighted by a European company; a tramway was constructed for its streets; and the building of a road between Teheran and the head of the Karun River was at once begun.

As a factor in the development of production, a good system of currency is as useful as railroads and telegraphs. The Imperial Bank established by the English substituted a sound paper currency, based upon the European system. A uniform silver currency was established. Bank-notes, at first viewed with suspicion, were beginning to be generally used, and could be seen in the bazaars. The ease with which paper money could be sent from one part of the country to the other substantially added to the growth and development of commercial transactions. This easy and cheap transmission of paper money, as contrasted with the difficulty of transporting specie, under the old system, together with the confidence that was felt in the stability of European banking methods, led many Persians to convert to productive uses wealth which had been hoarded up—a common practice in Asia—and it was also bringing the different parts of the kingdom into closer commercial relation with one another. On all sides, in town and country, there were the indications of the beginning of progress. The sudden influx of western energy and European capital had overcome the inertia of centuries, and the country was awakened by the new influences of the western world.

All this did not suit Russia's book. The financial invasion of Persia, by England, Belgium, and other European countries, was not in

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accord with Russia's plans for Persia's future. The investments of capital by these countries might, perhaps, give rise to future claims which would end with attempts at political control. As a compensation for the concessions granted to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, one concession was demanded by the Russian Minister; namely, that no railroads should be allowed in the kingdom. This was practically a concession against progress. Persia was to lie fallow, free from foreign entanglements, until Russia saw fit to make use of her.

The Russians, like ourselves, have a doctrine of manifest destiny. In their case it is, that all Asia must eventually come under their control. The opportunity to turn back this tide of civilization and progress soon came, and was cleverly seized upon by the Russian diplomats. The English tactlessly attempted to enforce one of the provisions of the tobacco monopoly—that provision which empowered them to order all Persian tobacco dealers to go out of business on a certain day.

When the foreign tobacco monopoly attempted to force this provision, the mollahs, Persian priests, announced to the people that tobacco was unclean. They forbade them to smoke while tobacco was handled by foreigners. The leading priest represented to the King, that the concession the latter had given to a company of foreigners to control the cultivation and sale of tobacco in Persia was inconsistent with the doctrines of the Koran and of Islam. They demanded an abolition of the concession. The universal use of tobacco in Persia—it is almost a necessity in Persian life—is well known. The attempt by an English corporation to control the sale influenced the fanatical hatred of all foreigners. It was so intense that, after various agitations in different parts of the kingdom, the internal monopoly was abolished; leaving the company with the monopoly of its export only.

When this had been accomplished, the King ordered one of the high mollahs to smoke in the mosque, and to state to the people there that, since the internal monopoly was abolished, tobacco was no longer unclean. The King regarded abstaining from tobacco as a sullen resistance to his will. The mollah refused; and the King ordered him to leave the country. This mollah was a man of high standing in the community. He was a teacher of civil and religious law, and was much beloved by the students and by the people. Upon the arrival of his students at his house the next morning, to hear him expound the doctrine of the Koran, they found his caravan of camels ready, and that he was preparing to depart. Upon learning the cause of his exile the students rent their garments; and their lamentations drew

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a great crowd. The bazaars and all the shops of the city were immediately closed.

The mob begged him to remain, and declared that he should not leave. It started for the King's palace, and succeeded in forcing the gates of the arc—the outer enclosure of the palace of the King and of that of one of his sons. Upon their arrival at the gate of the inner wall, they were addressed by a lieutenant of the guard from the roof of the gate. He said, "I desire to say a few words to you." The leader of the mob replied, "We will not hear you; we are going to kill the King. The first time he went to Europe he brought us Count Monteforte—the minister of police. The second time he went to Europe he brought us the tobacco monopoly. He has sold his country to foreigners, and has spent no portion of the proceeds upon the public."

The soldiers were ordered to fire upon the mob; but they reversed their guns, and would not harm their coreligionists in such a cause. The regiment of the King's son was then brought out and ordered to fire. Among those killed were two "green-turbaned men," descendants of the Prophet. Their bodies were taken and laid in state in the great mosque of the city. The King's son was stoned, and, with his attendants, put to flight. When the fury of the mob was at its height, some of the lower mollahs were running about in the crowd exhorting them to the "Jahed"—religious war—and inciting them to go to the foreign quarter and massacre the foreigners. Before they could get to the foreign quarter the gates of the square were closed upon them. The guns were run in and unlimbered at the gates; and a great mollah persuaded the people to disperse and go to their homes. There was a stampede among some of the Europeans; and many of them left their residences to take refuge in the grounds of the different legations.

Finally, the King gave way; a conference of mollahs having demanded three things of him, which he granted: (1) A compensation for the families of those killed at the palace gate; (2) an amnesty to all those who had been engaged in the revolt; and (3) the total abolition of the tobacco monopoly—its export as well as its internal trade.

This affair brought to light a fact that the oldest Orientalists, even the Persians themselves, did not dream of; namely, that the mollahs were possessed of considerable power. A mollah is not a member of any organization, like the Church of England, or one of our own churches, but simply a priest; and it was by common consent that a body of them came together, carried on negotiations with the Shah,

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made demands and concessions, and concluded an understanding with him. A means had been suddenly found for the expression of popular discontent and for the redress of popular grievances. In a despotism more like that of Cyrus and Xerxes than that of any government existing elsewhere, a parliament seemed to have risen from the ground.

Russian diplomacy and Persian fanaticism had fought and won the fight against material progress. (It must be remembered that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff had been replaced by another.) The abolition of the tobacco monopoly frightened the capitalists of Europe, and served to check the flow of European capital to the East. From that time, northern Persia has been completely within the sphere of Russian influence. The recent loan by Russia to Persia and the cession of a port upon the Persian Gulf indicate that the Russians now look upon all Persia as theirs.

It now becomes a question what part America is to play in the progress of this far-distant land, now on the verge of great changes.

While I can state from personal observation of the Russians, that their rule in Asia is, in the main, beneficial and humane, it must be said, nevertheless, that their commercial policy there is neither liberal nor enlightened ; the official obstructions to trade are, indeed, greater there to-day than they were in England before the breakdown of the mercantile system. This makes it very difficult for foreign importers.

After Russia adopted the policy of protection, she put a practically prohibitive tariff upon all goods passing through the little strip of land that divides the Black and Caspian Seas, even upon goods destined to parts of Central Asia not under Russian rule. While tons of Russian goods were crossing our broad continent in bond, without paying a cent of duty, if destined for Siberia or other lands upon the Pacific, such was the rigidity of the Russian tariff, upon goods crossing this mere shoestring of territory, that Russians made no distinction whether such goods were destined for Russian lands or other parts. Consequently, foreign merchants were frequently obliged to send goods into Teheran *via* Trebizond, the old caravan route, involving 1,100 miles of camel travel, with all the loss occasioned by lapse of time and breakage. It is against such a commercial spirit as this, that nations striving for a part of the trade of Asia will have to contend.

There is no law so far behind modern requirements as the law of nations, especially that doctrine of it which allows one nation to con-

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quer or annex another without regard to the vested interests which may be held by third parties. It is like one firm taking over the business of another, availing itself of all the assets, but repudiating all the obligations.

This deficiency, however, can be corrected by modern diplomacy. The Anglo-Saxons have interests in Persia. They were the pioneers of this latter-day regeneration. We ourselves were the first to import improved agricultural machinery into that country. We yearly import from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 pounds of Persian wool—not to mention numerous articles of minor importance. Our missionaries have been for many years the pioneers of trade for all Christendom.

England and America have pried open the doors of trade upon the Pacific shores of Asia; and our State Department would be asking for no more than justice if it should insist that the same principle applied to the Persian Gulf, where both England and America have so long enjoyed vested rights in trade. TRUXTUN BEALE.

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THE HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY.

At a diplomatic reunion, not long ago, it was my good fortune to hear the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs deliver a speech in which he brought out with remarkable clearness the idea that history is the only safe guide in government, and that it is impossible to govern wisely without consulting the records of the past. "If," he added, "the study of history is of great practical utility to all those who, in various capacities, take part in the administration of the State, it is of special utility to diplomatists." One must know what has been done in order to know what should be done, or, indeed, can be done. In examining the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, therefore, one must first consider the history of the question involved before discussing the stipulations in the document itself. To do this, it is necessary to go back as far as the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

The fable of the two knights who so vigorously maintained their diverse opinions about the shield of silver and gold is of universal application; and if the ingenious author had added to the story a third knight, who was unable to see any shield at all, he would have described very accurately the contentions which have taken place about the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. There are people who think it a wise Treaty, others who think it a bad bargain, and those who contend that it does not exist. In examining the question it is convenient to take the last class first; for, if the Treaty does not exist, the question whether it is good or bad may be left to take care of itself.

Those who maintain that there is no such engagement will tell you that the world was very guilty of such a treaty some ages since, but that now it is not to be found; they will call it a damaging contract entered into during our diplomatic minority; or they will say that it is a very old document, quite out of fashion, and unsuited to our present needs. If other arguments fail they will tell you that it is contrary to the Monroe Doctrine, that Nature has declared us lords of this hemisphere and of all the canals therein, no matter what the Treaty may say. They will declare that our geographical position and the

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conformation of the continent give us a right to the exclusive military use of the canal. They rest their claim to disregard the Treaty upon the decrees of Nature; but, as the Lord Chancellor says in "Iolanthe," they should not tell us what Nature has told them. It is not evidence. An affidavit from the Gulf of Mexico, or a few words on oath from the San Juan River, would meet with all the attention they deserve. But such evidence has not been produced by those who claim that "chorused nature" bids us consider the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty void. In truth, those who think the Treaty has ceased to exist are but cunning to invent distinctions with which to cozen themselves. They are unable to see the Treaty, because, like Nelson, they put the telescope to the blind eye. Their views are dictated by their desires rather than by their intellects.

In 1850, the United States and England found themselves in an *impasse*. The diplomatic agent of the United States had arranged with Nicaragua for certain rights of transit across the Isthmus. England, on the other hand, had taken possession of Greytown, which would probably be the eastern outlet of any Nicaraguan canal. The United States controlled the western end of the route, while England controlled the eastern terminus. It is true that in the negotiations with Nicaragua the American agent has acted without instructions, and that the Secretary of State promptly informed Lord Palmerston that the United States "had no views of exclusive advantage to themselves in this matter." At the same time it is evident that they did not intend Great Britain to have any exclusive advantage. The result of this state of affairs was, that the two Powers agreed by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty that any canal built across the Isthmus should be neutralized; and they furthermore agreed, for the better carrying out of this design, that neither of them would "occupy or fortify or colonize or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America." Thus, the canal was to be removed from the danger of domination by either of the Powers. Other articles provided that the canal should be considered neutral in time of war, and that the maritime Powers should be invited to join in guaranteeing its neutrality, as well as to share its benefits on equal terms.

Before the exchange of ratifications Sir Henry Bulwer, desiring to avoid all doubtful disputations, filed a memorandum with the Secretary of State, saying, "Her Majesty does not understand the engagement of that convention to apply to Her Majesty's settlements

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at Honduras, or to its dependencies." Mr. Clayton replied that this was in accordance with his own understanding of the Treaty.

Shortly after the ratifications had been exchanged disputes arose as to the meaning of the Treaty. It was debated whether England should give up her colonies already existing or whether she should merely refrain from acquiring new ones. There was also a difference of opinion as to what was meant by "Central America," and some legislators claimed that the Treaty was invalid because they were unaware of Sir Henry's note mentioned above. Lord Clarendon and Mr. Dallas negotiated a new treaty for the settlement of these difficulties, but it was not ratified. Great Britain suggested arbitration, which the United States declined, on the ground that the dispute was one concerning the meaning of the English language, and which could, therefore, be settled best by the two nations speaking that language. England offered to abrogate the Treaty and to return to the *status quo ante;* but the United States would not consent. Finally, Great Britain modified her possessions in accordance with the American interpretation of the Treaty. She gave up the Bay Islands, renounced her protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, and arranged with Guatemala for the settlement of the boundaries of British Honduras. The United States accepted these concessions; and President Buchanan, in 1860, informed Congress that "the discordant constructions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty have resulted in a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this Government."

An effort was made in 1881 to denounce the Treaty. Mr. Blaine sought to secure special and exclusive privileges for the United States in the proposed canal, and urged that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty be considered obsolete. His principal argument was based upon the change of circumstances which had taken place since 1850. But Great Britain insisted upon the validity of the engagement; and the Treaty has continued in force to this day. It gave evidence of its vitality as late as 1888 and 1894, when the United States insisted upon her own interpretation of the Treaty; using that convention as a means of compelling Great Britain to give up the last vestige of her protectorate over the Mosquito Indians. By this act the United States recorded the validity of the Treaty and her own adhesion to it.

The Treaty undoubtedly exists, and is a binding engagement. Whether it is a good treaty or a bad treaty may be a matter of opinion; for, according to a certain unpractical Dane, "there's nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so." Those who believe that

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the United States should have supreme military control of the canal may think that it is a bad treaty; on the other hand, the Treaty has the approval of those who adopt the broader view, that the canal should be a neutral waterway open to all nations on equal terms.

There have arisen in the United States administrations and parties who have been led aside by the attractions offered by the prospect of the exclusive control of the canal; but the idea of a canal free to all nations on equal terms and under international guarantee is the idea embodied in the historic policy of this Government, and it is the idea most in accordance with the modern development of diplomacy. As early as 1825 Mr. Clay, in referring to the project for an Isthmian canal at Panama, said, "If the work should ever be executed, the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon payment of just compensation or reasonable tolls."

Ten years later the Senate of the United States passed a resolution requesting the President "to consider the expediency of opening negotiations with the Governments of other nations, and particularly with the Governments of Central America and New Granada," for the purpose of securing the "free and equal right of navigation of such canals to all nations." The Secretary of State put forward this same principle in 1849, and it was embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in the following year. The Clay-Colindres Treaty (1864) and the Dickinson-Ayon Treaty (1867) both contain stipulations for inviting other Powers to extend their protection to the canal. Similar provisions were inserted in the three unratified treaties known as the Cass-Yrisarri Treaty (1857), the United States and Colombia Treaty (1869), and the Fish-Cardenas Convention (1877). The United States has pursued the same policy in dealing with the Panama Canal as in dealing with the Nicaragua Canal. In return for the protection granted, in 1846, to the Panama route the United States gained no exclusive privileges which could not be granted to other Powers. In 1849, Great Britain was invited to join in that guarantee. In 1862, this invitation was again extended to England by the United States, and France also was asked to join in guaranteeing "the safety of transit."

Shortly after the Civil War, an effort was made by this Government to secure from Colombia certain exclusive privileges for the warships of the United States; but the Colombian Legislature rejected the

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treaty, and declared itself in favor of a neutralized canal open to all nations on equal terms. The disappointed American Minister attributed his defeat to the diplomacy of Her Majesty's *chargé d'affaires*, who on Good Friday placed the British flag at half-mast, and, carrying a lighted candle, walked in procession in the Cathedral at Bogota. The American Minister considered this a "strange" proceeding on the part of "the virtual head of the English Church at Bogota." "How far that little candle throws its beams," thought the American Minister; but the real cause of the defeat of the treaty seems to have been that the legislators examined it in the light of wisdom. In any case (as a witty English dean once said to me) Her Majesty's representative could laugh to scorn the old adage, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.

On certain occasions the United States has reverted to the more shortsighted policy; but the most enlightened statesmen have been of the opinion that, as Mr. Fish said in 1877, the success of a canal "could not be compassed without a guarantee of the neutrality of the work by the chief maritime Powers." Mr. Cleveland, in his Message of 1885, said, that the United States, "by her positive declarations, and through the formal obligations of treaties, had consecrated the canal to the 'common use of mankind,'" and he added Mr. Cass's declaration, that "what the United States wants in Central America, next to the happiness of her people, is the security and neutrality of the inter-oceanic routes which lead through it."

Not only has the historic policy of the United States approved a canal open to all nations on equal terms, and neutralized by the consent of all the Powers, but this policy is also dictated by practical wisdom. The good of the world demands that the paths of commerce should be as free as possible. The doctrine of *Mare Clausum* has given way to the doctrine of *Mare Liberum*. Not only is the open sea free, but also the narrow seas; and in most cases the navigation of straits and rivers has been arranged by treaty stipulation. The Suez Canal, the only great artificial waterway so far completed, has also been declared open to the ships of all nations on equal terms in time of war as well as in time of peace. The international character of the canal was recognized even before the convention of 1888 was signed. During the Franco-Prussian War, the ships of both those nations continued to use the canal; and during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, England, with the moral support of the other Powers, insisted that the canal should remain neutral, so that even Russia's ships were en-

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abled to pass through the waterway situated in the territory of her enemy.

If the United States could obtain exclusive control of the Nicaragua Canal, and should attempt to use it for military purposes, it would prove a source of weakness rather than of strength. It would be a point of attack, a joint in our harness. Moreover, the canal, if not neutralized by general consent of the Powers, would prove a constant cause of annoyance and embarrassment to us in the event of war between any two other nations. In such a case it would be the duty of the United States to preserve the neutrality of the waterway; and upon this Government would devolve the responsibility for any failure to preserve such neutrality perfectly. In undertaking by herself to guarantee the neutrality of the canal, the United States would, as M. de Bustamante remarks, "only succeed in voluntarily drawing upon herself an inexhaustible source of international conflict."

Even if, in the eyes of the United States, this exclusive control were desirable, it is almost unobtainable. This Government is bound by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; and by that treaty as well as by its historic diplomacy it has committed itself to the policy of an open, neutral canal guaranteed by the maritime Powers. Nicaragua is also bound to that policy by her treaties with European nations. It is not to be supposed that these engagements can be easily set aside. The canal should be a great international highway for the trade of all nations. Commerce demands for its operations both peace and security. These can only be obtained by a conventional agreement between the Powers, such as that made at Constantinople, in 1888, by which the neutrality of the Suez Canal was secured.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty not only provides for such an international neutralization of the canal, but it is a statesmanlike document in other ways. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty has long been a menace to the peaceful relations of England and America on account of the divergent views entertained in the United States as to its validity and its utility. From time to time parties have arisen which desired to secure exclusive control of the canal, and which, therefore, convinced themselves that the Treaty was no longer binding. There has always been a danger that these views would induce some misguided Administration to disregard at a critical juncture the obligations of this agreement, and bring on a dispute, perhaps a conflict, with England. With admirable foresight Mr. Hay has taken up the question at a convenient season and in a friendly manner. A danger-

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ous source of dispute is settled, for the meaning of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is made precise by the new agreement. The legitimate ambitions of the United States are gratified by receiving the right to build and own the canal. Whether the Government will find this a profitable investment is a question of finance, the discussion of which does not come within the limits of this article.

But, while giving to the United States the right to construct the canal, the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty declares that it shall be open to the ships of all nations in time of war as well as in time of peace, and that the Powers shall be invited to guarantee the neutrality of the route. The stipulations as to the passage of warships through the canal, the taking aboard of supplies, the landing of troops, the prohibition of blockade, and similar details are practically the same regulations as those adopted for the Suez Canal.

It is an error to suppose that the neutralization of the canal is contrary to the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine was designed to prevent a combination of European Powers from intervening in the internal affairs of the American nations. An agreement among European and American states to neutralize a portion of the Isthmus is an engagement not to meddle with that portion of America. Hence, it is a contract to observe the Monroe Doctrine as far as that part of the Isthmus is concerned.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty is in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine; it removes an old source of dispute; it opens up a prospect of great benefit to the commerce of the world under international guarantee; it perpetuates the historic policy of the United States; it is a state paper worthy of the distinguished diplomatists who have signed it.

JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY.

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IMMEDIATE NAVAL NEEDS.

WITH the return of the period for our legislators to consider what proportion of the country's revenue may be consistently given for naval purposes, a few suggestions may be of interest.

Although there are already too many laws, I have always believed there should be one requiring that all the appropriation bills for the current expenses of the Government should be passed before the consideration of any other legislation. It would cause at least this one benefit, that the obligations and current expenses of the nation could be thoroughly discussed and provided for under better influences than those which attend the closing days of a session.

In preparing this paper I have treated my subject not so much from the lessons which might be learned from our recent war with Spain as from conditions that have long existed, and which, perhaps, may be lost sight of under the exciting influences of victory and conquest. Of our navy we can justly say that no other nation possesses a naval force of which it can be prouder. Its successes have been unrivalled. That the engaging fleets of Spain were inferior makes, perhaps, the victories the greater ; for the very consciousness of superiority at times invites defeat because of indifference and conceit.

In considering the immediate needs of the navy many will undoubtedly think that I wander far from the subject when I include the cutting and completion of the Nicaragua Canal, the control of a well-defined watercourse connecting our Great Lakes with the ocean, and the acquisition of adequate, foreign coaling stations to supply what we must and will have—a stronger navy and a larger merchant marine. Projects covering the accomplishment of these three important works require the exercise of the best judgment of every department of our National and State governments; but they are of greatest import to the navy, involving as they do interests so intimately connected with this branch of the Government.

So much has been written on these subjects, so many official reports have been made, so much valuable data is available as to the great benefits that would result to our manufacturing and labor in-

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terests, local as well as national, that it seems absolute folly further to postpone action. The appointment of new boards and the authorization of new investigations are but excuses to defer responsibility. What is needed is *action*. There is plenty of ability and plenty of money ready to be embarked in any and all of these undertakings.

For $85,000,000, the Nicaragua Canal can be completed and put into operation in six years, probably in five, possibly in less, if the enterprise be conducted under a high standard of commercial and technical conditions. There would thus be given to our territory a southern water boundary which should be absolutely owned and controlled by the Government of the United States. The adaptability and convenience of steel construction, which made the Boston Subway an undertaking of comparative ease, will to a greater degree aid in reducing the cost and time of completion of the Nicaragua Canal. Not only could a commercial return be guaranteed from its revenues, but, because of the facilities for rapid transfer, the strength of our naval force would be nearly doubled. The development of the western coast, through the reduction of the cost of supplies by way of the Canal, which would be one of the resulting benefits, would be sufficient inducement for western capitalists to provide the major part of the money necessary for the accomplishment of this great work.

A leading journal has well said, "No scheme of engineering on the globe equals in importance to the country contemplating it that of the Nicaragua Canal." Have we not had sufficiently costly experience to satisfy us of the necessity for its speedy completion? Guaranteeing the interest on the bonds would be a small responsibility to be assumed by the National Government. Let us waste no more time discussing doctrines; let us, instead, accept the young republics as part of the United States. They would be of infinitely more value than the 10,000,000 people purchased at ten dollars a head—people with whom we are now battling at so great a cost in life and treasure.

Commercial necessity will undoubtedly hasten the construction of a deep waterway on our northern frontier, one that will be absolutely under our own control. Here, too, our Government ought not to hesitate a moment to give such encouragement as will expedite its completion. The control of the commerce of the Great Lakes and of the waters tributary thereto—a commerce which is constantly increasing in volume and value—is quite as necessary as cheapening rates and increasing facilities for the transportation of enormous western prod-

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ucts. This would be effected, in a measure, by the proposed improvement of the Erie Canal and by the cutting of the Cape Cod Canal. During the less than eight months' open season of 1899, the freight tonnage passed through the two canals of the Sault aggregated nearly 26,000,000 tons.

To provide an efficient defence on our northern frontier does not involve a consideration of our treaty obligations in relation to the number, size, and armament of war vessels on the lakes. Torpedo-boats, torpedoes, rapid-fire guns, with suitable mounts, ammunition, and adequate means of transportation by shallow water routes and by rail should be immediately provided. An appropriation of $20,000,000 should be made at once for the construction and armament, with suitable ammunition supply, of an adequate torpedo and gun-boat service, and for a supply of small arms of modern, uniform type, with which to equip, effectively and readily, a national guard and naval reserve to check any attack from the north.

If torpedo-boats are asked for by the hundred, and simple, efficient requirements are demanded, leaving the details to private builders, most excellent results can be obtained as far as time, price, and efficiency are concerned; two years and $13,000,000 being adequate time and cost for the provision of at least 100 of a most desirable type. Contracts for 50 or 100 torpedo-boats would give the country something more than a few unsatisfactory experiments, which describes our present torpedo-boat force. While not advocating, in this paper, any special type of torpedo-craft, a careful estimate of the arguments in favor of submarine principles, coupled with the practical results that have been obtained with the submarine torpedo-boat "Holland," strongly favors vessels embodying principles which insure a control of invisibility.

Although political differences will start an outcry against subsidizing steamship lines, the most useful and economical method of supplying cruisers is to encourage the exportation of our own freight in American bottoms, built for the general purposes of commerce, but combining elements permitting rapid transformation into auxiliary cruisers. The possibilities of such steamers as the "Teutonic" and "Majestic," suitably fitted and protected and armed with rapid-fire and torpedo batteries, cannot be estimated except by the most careful study of those general elements which are likely to arise in a war of the present period. With speed and coal capacity in excess of any of the first-class cruisers, and with perfect adaptation for the transportation

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of troops, horses, equipments, and supplies, they would be infinitely superior to any war craft which now exists for the general work that would be demanded of a cruiser. The money spent during the Spanish war in sixty days simply for yachts—which, with a few exceptions, could not possibly have a place in real naval tactics or actions—would have subsidized the finest fleet of "Majestics" or "Teutonics" that the greatest empire could desire. Such a fleet could have carried 30,000 men to Manila, Cuba, and Puerto Rico each, and been capable of defending itself, at the same time. Though magnificent carriers of men, fuel, ammunition, and supplies, still, in times of peace, they would cost the nation a mere pittance in comparison with the value of our flag covering our exports.

With exports for 1899 alone exceeding by more than $1,000,000,000 our imports and exports combined in 1870, with the world's commercial leadership knocking at our door, we can afford to expend almost any amount to reëstablish our commercial prestige on the seas, at the same time providing every type of auxiliary vessel for naval use that emergency may dictate.

To subsidize ships in order to secure their services in time of need and then fail to provide armament or ammunition for them seems incredible; but such was the case. Recent acts gave us control of several steamers that performed as efficient service as some of our cruisers; and yet the comparatively small sum necessary for their proper equipment in this case of emergency was not only *not* appropriated, but was stricken from the estimates.

The absence of suitable docking facilities for ships laid down five years ago is not only well described by a contemporary as a cause for national humiliation, but was certainly a marked omission in a period when such docks as were needed could have been constructed for $1,000,000 each, within nine months, if commercial selection and enterprise had been given the responsibility, and the undertaking had been kept free from political embarrassments.

The Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations made the statement, July 8, 1898, that $361,788,220 had been appropriated to meet the expenditures of the war with Spain. If this sum was necessary to protect our interests against an unprepared nation, it is appalling to think of the vast expenditure of lives as well as of money that would be required for a conflict with any one of the Great Powers. This situation is not at all unlikely when we recall that our recent colonial acquisitions in the East more than equal the territory parti-

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tioned a year ago in China, and that we have added to our responsibilities the government of some 10,000,000 people—less those we are killing off—more difficult to civilize or control than our North American Indians. It is true that we have acquired, at the cost of priceless lives and millions of money, a few coaling stations ; but even they are not distributed strategically as well as those which could have been secured for the purchase price of a few hundred thousand dollars. But victory followed us everywhere, even when retreat had been planned.

In all our naval engagements we have added to the already brilliant record of our naval history. For these successes the world is asking how the United States will reward those who had the good fortune to be present at the few engagements that the conditions of the war made possible. Japan, young as is her intercourse with other Powers, does these things better than we. As she commences the construction of suitable docks for her battleships coincident with the order for the ships themselves, so she rewards her officers in a manner that does not reflect upon and discourage those whose equally important duties keep them from the special fields of actual fighting and victory. With medals of honor, increase of pay, and an extension of active service interfering in no way with the regular roster, Japan has built up a strong navy ; and in many directions we could not do better than imitate her.

In providing training ships for the naval cadets, the two elements which should govern their selection are : (1) the discipline and responsibility which ought to be prominent in a naval officer's education ; and (2) the opportunity for observation of, and practical experience with, the progress and development of naval architecture and marine engineering. The fact that nearly every navy in the world retains as long as possible its old sailing sloops, or builds similar ones, goes far to indorse my view, that the two important traits of responsibility and meeting emergencies cannot be more firmly installed than in a sailing ship and in the modern commercial steamer.

Therefore, the naval cadets ought to be supplied with such types as would permit of frequent replacement, and as are found in our fast coastwise steamers, which combine the qualities of safety, comfort, speed, and handiness, which cover the latest and best types of engines and modern appliances for handling ships, and which, when not utilized for the actual education of the cadets, can be used for the transportation of personnel and supplies. Experience in handling

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these ships would fit these young officers for the most important duties which the emergency of war would impose upon them. One such steamer, together with a steel sailing sloop of sufficient capacity, could be constructed within nine months, for a very small sum; and it would prove of much practical value, not only for education, but for general naval service as well.

Speaking of *naval cadets* suggests the wisdom of restoring the time-honored title of *midshipman*, of reducing the age limit of admission to the Naval Academy, and of increasing the numbers; sending, as now, all graduates into civil life for whom no vacancies in the service exist. I do not see any advantage in the suggestion to change the name to that of a marine university. Under its present name the Academy can be made as useful. The merits of the proposed conditions are: (1) that the young men would graduate at an age suitable for entering any of the large universities or colleges; and (2) that they would have the advantages—the value of which cannot be overestimated—of completing a course of discipline and education tending not only to form a character that will eminently fit them for the collegiate course, but also to engraft, at the most critical period, a natural love and interest in the navy and naval affairs that must prove of great value in subsequent life, whether they be called to active service afloat, or to representation, no less important, in the nation's legislature. If the graduates should go into civil life, they would better understand their responsibilities; for what better elements are needed for success in commercial life than the respect, obedience, and discipline that constitute so large a part of the splendid education which the Naval Academy provides?

One important matter which seems to be still far from accomplishment is uniformity in the type of small arms to be used by both branches of the military service. While the rivalry between the officials of the army and the navy to secure the better arm may be presented as a benefit, nevertheless, in case of coöperation of the land and naval forces, the differences in the character and calibres of the rifles, and the lack of uniformity of ammunition, would be such an evident drawback that it needs no explanation to emphasize the disadvantage of such a system. The suggestion to supply the two services with ammunition of the same calibre is a move in the right direction, but does not go far enough. The same arm should be issued to the army, navy, national guard, and naval militia.

To the seemingly hopeless task of adjusting the differences of the

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personnel, I shall give but a passing notice. Upon this point, Congress, boards, and even the officers themselves fail to agree; but there must soon be some legislation that will raise an officer to command before he reaches the age when he fears responsibility.

There is no question in connection with the navy which deserves more careful consideration than that of a proper supply of seamen. We have very few, if any, native watermen now to call upon; and while the State governments are, in a measure, endeavoring to meet this want by their naval militia organizations, Congress should increase by at least 10,000 men the present limit of enlistment, and continue to encourage the naval reserve force by liberal appropriations and assignments of war material.

While the enormous increase in our population has not in any way diminished the fear of some of our people that a handful of the rank and file of the United States army and navy may follow the precedents of history and usurp the reins of government, our constantly increasing wealth has seriously augmented the danger of rupture with other nations. And while there is not the least doubt of the ultimate success of any war into which it may be our misfortune to be drawn, we must not lose sight of the fact that not every conflict will be as short and victorious as the recent one, but that immense damage to our property and great loss of life may result before final victory. One of the most pertinent assignments of the naval militia is to coast and harbor defence. Had the demands and petitions for a proper-sized naval reserve been heeded, and a force averaging 1,000 men per State been authorized, batteries of them, instructed by the regular artillery in time of peace, would have provided a splendid seacoast defence force which, with submarine torpedo-boats, would have released the regular artillery and the northern squadrons for immediate service in the West Indies.

The Naval War College and the Intelligence Office should be very closely allied; in fact, they ought to be under one head. This accomplished, the headquarters of the College should be in Washington. Technical work could be undertaken anywhere, at certain periods, just as the various scientific societies have their annual, semi-annual, and quarterly meetings in those locations which best suit their purposes and those of their members. If the War College were situated in Washington, the various departments and a larger number of officers would get the benefit of its lectures and technical work. It has been

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argued that the headquarters of the College should not be near the Navy Department, that it ought to be kept at a distance from its business, its politics, and its daily excitements. Yet, the best advisory staff with which I am acquainted, that of Germany, is situated in Berlin, directly in contact with the Emperor. The College should be controlled by men of such stability, application, and tact as would secure to it the benefit of the business, politics, and excitement of the Capital. They would also have intercourse with foreigners interested in similar subjects, which intercourse, properly exercised, would be of great value.

Further, I know of no other city of the same size as Washington where so much professional research is carried on undisturbed by the elements cited. I do not see how the College can be placed upon a solid, valuable basis until liberal appropriations are made for the publication and distribution of all the information that is not considered strictly confidential, and for the extension of the field of lectures to men eminent in all the branches of education, civil as well as military. While according praise for what has already been accomplished, under many adverse conditions, by those responsible for its development, I do not expect the College to flourish as it should, until it is removed from the control of a small coterie of officers, and until the war college extensions (similar to university extensions) are carried on all over the United States.

As to extension, subjects for discussion could be sent to the headquarters of yacht clubs, State naval militia, and those colleges having departments in naval architecture and marine engineering, and where lectures also would be most gratefully appreciated. What is needed is a more general recognition throughout the country of the necessity for the *naval force*. The result of such a course as I have suggested will be, that the men interested in the various localities will, through the local authorities, interest the national legislators sufficiently to secure adequate appropriations for the work.

The absence, or omission, of a Naval General Staff from the administration of our navy has for years been a source of regret to many a one interested in its welfare. An emergency substitute, the Naval War Board, was created at the beginning of the late war with Spain. While it was in no sense a strategical or directing body, the Secretary spoke of it with much pride, officially eulogized its work, emphasized its importance, and then put it out of existence. There is no more important unit in naval administration than the Naval General

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Staff; and it should be organized at once on the strongest lines that experience has defined.

I have not included any modification of construction or changes in equipment that the late war has suggested, but have confined myself to those reforms which the successes of the war might tend to subordinate. In our naval construction, however, much time and money are wasted, because the contracts are separated, and because too many changes are made in the original plans. Radical alterations not only increase the cost of construction, but seriously impair the efficiency of the ship. Better construct rapidly on original design and build more ships than to attempt to incorporate under delayed construction those elements which make them neither the one thing nor the other. If shipbuilders are required to supply all material entering into the construction, and if no marked digressions are made from the original designs and specifications, there is no reason why a first-class battleship should not now be completed and commissioned within two years from the time she is laid down; and there is no doubt whatever that the contracting shipbuilder can secure the material, armor included, in less time and at less cost than when separate contracts are made for the supplies in question.

In the contracts for armor more latitude should be given the shipbuilder. Much better results would be obtained if he were merely required to protect his ships with armor of certain ballistic resistance, having the privilege of purchasing thinner armor if affording equal protection to that of the thickness and quality estimated by the bureaus. Such a reduction of weight could be most advantageously utilized in the plans for his machinery, coal supply, or other details.

The specifications for the construction of ships and for the supply of other war material should be as simple as possible. Much time and money would be saved by placing the responsibility upon the contractors themselves. In general, all Government establishments should be kept equipped only for the purposes of emergency, experiment, and repair, while all construction and all war material should be supplied under reasonable, open competition by private establishments of undoubted capacity and reputation.

There is one lesson which the late war has emphasized, and which, as far as I know, has not been noticed; namely, that our ships should carry transportable siege guns for their landing parties, and which, in case of emergency, as at Santiago, for example, could be loaned to the army.

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Tabulating our *immediate naval needs*, the following would put us in a very strong position among nations, and effect a powerful insurance of our wealth at a much less rate than we ordinarily pay for fire insurance :

OBJECT.	TIME TO COMPLETE.	COST.
Nicaragua Canal	5 years	$85,000,000
Waterway from lakes to ocean	4 years	50,000,000
Coaling stations	Immediate	500,000
Torpedo-craft	2 years	13,000,000
Armament for auxiliary steamers	2 years	2,500,000
Reserve ammunition	1 year	5,000,000
10 subsidized steamers of the "Majestic" class	2 years	20,000,000
6 docks	1 year	6,000,000
2 training ships	1 year	900,000
100,000 rifles (small arms)	1 year	2,000,000
10,000 seamen	Immediate	2,500,000
War College and Naval Intelligence Bureau	Immediate	500,000
Naval Reserve	Immediate	1,000,000

I have called attention to the pressing needs of our navy. Of these, the most important is the extension of our *merchant marine*. Let us attend to this at any cost ; and let us also cut and control the Isthmus waterway. Then we shall have not only, as Henry Norman wrote, "a war-made New America," but a peace-assured New America.

WILLIAM HENRY JAQUES.

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THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF SCIENCE.

THE present may be deemed the Age of Science. Humanity's record began in an Age of Tooth and Claw, when primal men were content to borrow nature's weapons—and motives as well—from bestial neighbors. Next came the Age of Stone, during which thought crystallized about a crude material fit only for rude purposes. In the earlier part of this age (the *protolithic period*) pebbles and spalls were used in natural form or as shaped by use; during the later part (the *technolithic period*) the material was wrought after models or preconceived designs; and in its climax the age was that of knowledge of stone. In some countries this eon merged into an Age of Bronze, in which the metal was first wrought as stone, and afterward smelted and alloyed. In at least one centre this age in turn merged into an Age of Iron, during which the refractory metal was forged and founded into uncounted levers for lifting mankind to higher planes. And the two ages were an eon of knowledge of metal.

Throughout the ages each new art was as a new branch on the ever-growing tree of knowledge; and the arts multiplied and spread from land to land, until, by interwoven arts and industries and all manner of devices for nature-conquest, the leading nations were bound into cultural unity. Then followed, normally and inevitably, a polytechnic age, in which thought turned first to natural materials, next to all nature, and finally to knowledge of nature. And so dawned that joint knowledge of nature and of knowledge itself which opened the Age of Science.

Modern science involves (1) methods of acquiring knowledge; (2) methods of formulating or organizing knowledge; and (3) the sum of knowledge (including the knowledge of methods) acquired and formulated in accordance with experience. There are several branches of science, each defined by the phenomena or aspects of nature with which it directly deals; yet the methods are alike in all, from eldest-born astronomy to youngest-born anthropology. By virtue of these methods, science rises far above that unconsciously assimilated experience called instinct in animals and intuition in men; it out-passes

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that semi-conscious summation of experience called common-sense ; it even transcends that consciously assimilated, but only half-formulated, experience which grows with the years and ends with the life of the sage, and is extolled as sagacity or wisdom ; yet it spans all these and other grades of actual knowledge, and seeks to reduce them to simple order. So science may be defined as *consciously organized knowledge.*

Reduced to simple terms, the scientific method of acquiring knowledge involves (1) observation, (2) generalization, (3) inference, and (4) verification ; though the processes overlap to the extent that there is no observation without some generalization, no generalization apart from observation and unaided by some inference, no inference wholly dissevered from observation and generalization, and no continuous acquisition by any or all of these direct processes without some spontaneous effort at verification. In other words, generalization is little more than normal expansion of simple observation ; inference is little else than intuitive extension of generalization, through the aid of memory ; while verification is nothing more than instinctive fixation of the factors of knowledge as a basis for confidence in its reality. The source of all scientific knowledge is experience, though some part of the experience may be indirect ; *i.e.*, that of other individuals and generations communicated in ways implying measurable similarity in experience. These methods of acquisition are shared not only by the several sciences, but by all other lines of intellectual out-reaching ; yet the proportion of the intuitive (or unconsciously integrated) experience, called deductive knowledge, decreases, while the ratio of consciously organized experience, called inductive knowledge, increases from the inchoate lines to modern science, and from branch to branch of the special sciences—astronomy, chemistry, physics, phytology, zoölogy, geology, anthropology—in about the order of their historical development.

It is in the methods of organizing knowledge that modern science attains its most distinctive aspect ; and these methods are reducible to a few simple formulas, most of which are expressed in phrases already familiar through long use in scientific speech and literature. Each of these formulas sums a vast body of experience which was contributed by one or more lines of research ; and all are sustained jointly by the several special sciences. Since they are not shared by other branches of knowledge, they may fairly be held to constitute the superstructure of science.

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The beginning of science can be discerned but dimly amid the shadows of antiquity; yet enough of the earliest traces may be caught to show that organized knowledge began with counting and grew into mathematics. There are, indeed, unmistakable indications that primitive numbers were largely magical or almacabalic;[1] but the indications are equally clear that the counting, whence the number-systems sprang, expressed at least partly conscious recognition of the veritable existence and persistence (or the integrality) of the things counted; so that these systems may be held to mark the inception of science.

On passing to the lighter shadows of less remote antiquity, patient search discovers traditions and other traces of an epoch in which men living under the clear skies of arid regions were impressed with the apparent stability of the star-decked firmament, and gradually grouped the heavenly bodies into systems. The vestiges indicate that the early grouping was largely mystical or astrological; that the primal constellations were mainly beast-gods translated to the heavens; that the crystal spheres invented to carry the great luminaries and planets were supernal figments. Yet the vestiges show no less clearly that this crude system grew out of persistent effort to organize experiences of consciously recognized things. Thus, it seems fair to date the definite conception of science from the passage of astrology into archaic astronomy. Roughly speaking, the era of numbers may be correlated with the Age of Stone, and the era of primal astronomy with the Age of Bronze; but the eras and ages merge and overlap too far for definite coördination.

As the mental processes of mankind were fixed by counting and star-gazing, as well as by the conquest of metal, writing came up; and the chronicles of Hellas show that the mental processes were steadily extended to other things, which were slowly recognized as entities no less definite than stars and counted objects. The several lines of advance—including the sublimely fruitful union of stone art and metal art in Grecian sculpture—combined and culminated in the early intellectual climax of Mediterranean's easterly shores. About 450 B.C., Empedocles, following a suggestion of Parmenides, taught —of course in metaphysical wise—that the ultimate particles of all substances must be indivisible, immutable, and indestructible; while Democritus about the same time summed up the prevailing philosophical opinion in a proposition which may be thus rendered: "Out

[1] The earlier stages of counting have been described in "The Beginning of Mathematics," "American Anthropologist" (New Series), vol. i., 1899, pp. 646–674.

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of nothing nothing arises ; nothing that is can be destroyed ; change is only combination or separation of particles." This notion of nature was crystallized by the clear reasoning of Aristotle ; and during the century before the opening of our era it was given a somewhat grossly material application to fiducial matters by Epicurus and his disciple Lucretius. Then the notion lagged during the Dark Ages, to revive with the Renaissance and the physical researches of Gassendi and Leibnitz, and especially of Lavoisier (1743–1794), who showed experimentally that matter is neither lost nor gained in chemical change.

This experimental demonstration opened an epoch in intellectual progress. It marked the extension of macroscopic observation into microcosmic nature ; it established the scientific method of acquiring knowledge ; it fixed the experimental method of research, in which inference founded on firm facts of observation is projected forward in definite prevision, and is verified by voluntary control of nature through prearranged conditions ; and it founded that pillar of science defined in the formula, *The indestructibility of matter*. This first pillar of systematic science may be deemed the gift of astronomy as to material, but must be credited to chemistry as to finish and useful setting ; and its erection may be fairly held to mark the full birth of science as consciously organized knowledge.

The principle of the indestructibility of matter was at once the fruit of a philosophical renovation and the seed of an intellectual reformation ; for, as it ripened in mind after mind, and was sown broadcast by the slow, but persistent, processes of the times, it bred new inquiry and experiment which at the same time sustained many hungry minds and furnished fresh seed for yet other minds. Among the consequences of the intellectual quickening were the physical experiments of the American Count Rumford (Benjamin Thompson). When these were described in 1798, they at once transferred the discussion of temperature from the domain of metaphysics to that of physical inquiry, and demonstrated that heat is a manifestation of motion.

Rumford was followed by Sir Humphry Davy, and half a century later by Dr. Joule, who repeated and extended the experiments, and fixed the mechanical equivalent of heat. Then came a brilliant coterie of physicists—Grove, Faraday, Helmholtz, Tyndall, and others—who verified the earlier determinations by means of special experiments ; supported the work by comparison with general human experience ; established the interchangeability (or correlation) of forces ; and gradually organized growing knowledge in a system defining the sec-

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ond pillar of science—that commonly defined as the conservation of energy, or, preferably, in view of Thompson's terminology and of later researches, *The persistence of motion.* Originally the gift of physics, this principle was soon extended into the realm of organic life by Liebig and others in Germany and by Carpenter in Britain ; and a few years later it was pushed into the realm of mental action by Le Conte and Barker in America.

The new principle met a mental need, and found so many applications that it came to be regarded by many as the most important discovery of the century. For a generation, the inconstructible and indestructible motion enlivening the universe was assumed to be constant only in the universe as a whole, and constantly variable in the constituent bodies. This assumption served to pair fundamental notions of matter and motion—the one persisting only in the particle and the other only in the sum of particles—in such manner as to satisfy the dualistic instinct expressed in most earlier philosophies. But, at the same time, it introduced an indefinite, if not forever indeterminate, element into the formula ; for, under the assumption, the finality of the formula cannot be ascertained until the universe is measured and weighed to its uttermost limits. An alternative assumption, recently proposed by Powell, is, that motion, like matter, is persistent in the ultimate particle. This assumption has the merit of harmonizing principles which otherwise are apparently discordant, and the special excellence of integrating general human experience ; but it still awaits direct demonstration, through laboratory experiments so prearranged as to test all possible inferences.

As Lavoisier's law of indestructibility spread, the method of observation under voluntarily controlled conditions was extended into new fields ; and even while Joule's mechanical experiments were still progressing at Manchester, Darwin was arranging a series of vital experiments at Down, and comparing his results with the voluminous observations recorded by naturalists in all parts of the world. Meantime Alfred Russell Wallace and Herbert Spencer were also seeking to organize anew the facts collected on the Linnæan plane, which had already become chaotic by reason of their very number ; and when the three thinkers independently generalized the teeming experiences of organic life in terms of sequence, the coincident opinions and the incomparable thoroughness of Darwin's methods combined to force a new principle on an unwilling world of contemporary thought.

At first the Darwinian doctrine was burdened by its own infan-

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tile feebleness—for there is no Minervan birth in science—and bound by the swaddlings of scholasticism. But support came from all sides; and it grew apace and soon became the sturdiest of that trinity of scientific principles recognized up to the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. For some years the doctrine was largely limited to the organic realm, and was held applicable solely to the evolution of animal and vegetal species; but later it was extended to other realms of nature, at first intuitively and then purposively. As the research progressed it was found equally applicable to species of the sub-organic realm (ranging from minerals to mountains), and to those of the super-organic realm (ranging from knives to nations); and it gradually became evident that the law involves involution as well as that evolution so conspicuous in the organic world. With this extension the principle becomes *The development of species;* and this formula denotes the third pillar in the superstructure of science, the richest gift of biology to the sum of consciously organized knowledge.

Naturally, the promulgation of three revolutionary doctrines within a century (1760–1860) produced an intellectual surfeit. The principle of indestructibility had lain germinant for two millenniums, and so found men's minds ready for the final planting; even the principle of persistence met a need of thought and encountered little opposition; but the principle of development found most mental fields already stocked with long-set growths and little prepared for the latest seeding. A consequence of the indifference or antipathy of the average mind was voluminous discussion, with the spontaneous separation of thinkers into opposing schools; and in due course science became a cult, and Thomas H. Huxley its most vigorous exponent. As the discussion proceeded, the principle of development was rounded out and applied to new problems; and as the applications multiplied, it was found to present many analogies with the principles of indestructibility and persistence.

Meantime, a Science of the Earth was rapidly crystallizing about Sir Charles Lyell's idea of uniform process in earth-building, the "uniformitarianism" of that day of redundant doctrines; while under the masterly interpretations of Huxley and others, paleontology was resurrecting the record of early life on the earth. The several movements eventually joined in the formulation of a fourth law, complementary to those of earlier decades, and so harmonious with them as to facilitate the apprehension and adoption of the entire series. This fourth law has ever since been regarded as a—if not *the*—cardi-

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nal principle of science. In Huxley's happy phrase it is *The uniformity of nature.* This pillar of science must be credited largely to geology, but partly to all the older branches of organized knowledge.

At this end of the century, these four principles form the commonly accepted platform of science : the indestructibility of matter, the persistence of motion, the development of species, and the uniformity of nature. There may be, indeed there is, a question as to whether they constitute the entire platform of human knowledge ; but in the minds of scientific men there is no question as to the validity of these principles so far as they go. True, the temperate scientist must admit the possibility that any or all of the principles may be erroneous ; but he does so, if at all, in full realization that the admission is tantamount to denial of the truth and trustworthiness of experience as a source of knowledge.

The scientist cannot deny that the cosmos may be shrinking toward nothingness, or growing by miraculous accretion toward greater magnificence ; he is very far from denying that the universe may be kept in motion by some extra-cosmic source of power ; he hardly ventures to dispute the transitional halting-place held by those who claim that at least the first life and the highest mind transcend natural development and demand special supernatural explanation ; in certain circumstances he is deterred by the tolerance of good breeding from denying that the world was made from a lump of mud brought up by a muskrat from the bottom of the sea, as solemnly taught in aboriginal philosophy : he can only say that all such explanations of nature lie outside the range of experience, and hence beyond the domain of science.

It is also true that the unscientific thinker—whose name is Legion —is free to reject any or all of the principles ; and it can only be said that thereby he keeps without the straight-laid fields of science and within the broad and often attractive purviews of not-science. Yet, it is a significant sign of the times that most civilized and enlightened men already appreciate the coin of experience above the dust of tradition, and are gradually entering, whether intentionally or not, into the ways of science. But a generation past the very name of science was the symbol of a cult to one class of thinkers and a juggler's gaud to another class ; to-day the very substance of science has gone into the everyday life of all enlightened folk. So, at this end of the century, the four principles form the superstructure of science as held

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implicitly or proclaimed explicitly throughout the leading nations; and the adherents of the principles justify their confidence by the unimpeachable testimony of experience.

On summing up the principles forming the present superstructure of science, it becomes manifest that they are interrelated in such wise as to form a harmonious series; each dealing with an aspect of nature, and the whole covering all nature in its more conspicuous aspects. It becomes manifest, too, that the four principles are alike in two respects: in the first place, they are each and all integrations of experience along the lines to which they respectively pertain; in the second place, they each and all rest on the postulate that experience furnishes a key—and the only key—to nature. This correspondence would seem to indicate that the four principles might themselves be integrated in terms of their common attributes; it also suggests that the principles may have been really integrated, albeit intuitively or subconsciously only, even before they were finally formulated.

Thus, the principle of indestructibility was but a generalization of experiences of indestructibility; yet it could not have become clear to any mind devoid of the assumption—howsoever implicit or vague—that experience accurately reflects actualities. The principle of persistence was merely a generalization of experiences; yet it could not have been grasped without the assumption that experiences of motion and duration are veritable. So, too, the principle of development involves the postulate that the sequence pictured in the mind is the reflection of a real sequence in nature; while the principle of uniformity demands the assumption that the mind of man is a faithful mirror of nature.

Doubtless, the essential postulate remained unformulated and half unrealized because of the preoccupation of the knowledge-makers. Lavoisier was too busy over chemical reactions to give much thought to the mechanism of his own mind; Joule confined his apperception to extra-mental phenomena; Darwin remained naïvely negligent of his own admirable mentations; and even Huxley deliberately dropped the veil of unthinkableness between his conscious self and the mysteries of his subconsciousness. Yet these men made no observations, formed no generalizations, framed no inferences, without constant realization that experience is a reflex of nature; and it seems evident that without this realization the signal advances in knowledge summed in the principles could not have been made.

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On analyzing the constantly implied, but never explained, confidence reposed by the knowledge-makers alike in experience and in their own mental operations, it is soon seen that the two bases of scientific procedure are closely akin; for the evident source of confidence in experience lies in experience itself, while the source of confidence in mentality just as evidently lies in experience of mental working. Now, in every stage of culture the physical and psychical faculties of mankind are coördinated, at least to the extent that bodily activities affect thought while thinking dominates action; whence the suggestion naturally arises that the intuitive confidence of the knowledge-makers in external realities, and in the ability of the mind to grasp and interpret them, was a normal sequence of that Renaissance following the Dark Ages in which men turned to the most inspiring duties of their kind—the twin tasks of nature-conquest and nation-building. And it would seem to follow that the confidence in Nature and Mind inspired and constantly renewed by successful effort was rather a forerunner than a mere attendant of those advances in knowledge marked by the framing of the four principles.

Fortunately, the suggestion that confidence in Mind was really, albeit unwittingly, the first-fruit of the Renaissance and the seed of confidence in Nature is corroborated by contemporary testimony: Nearly two centuries before Lavoisier, Francis Bacon laid a foundation for definite knowledge, the cornerstone of which appears in the initial aphorism of the "Novum Organum."[1] Divested of immaterial qualifications, and interpreted in the light of the other propositions and elucidations making up Bacon's ever-memorable essay, this aphorism is a specific affirmation that the human Mind is a mirror of Nature, faithfully reflecting observations of Nature and nothing more; *i.e.*, the aphorism is an explicit definition of the platform implicitly occupied by Lavoisier and Joule and Darwin and Huxley in their epoch-making researches. True, these men made little if any acknowledgment to Bacon, and at least one of them mildly decried his work; yet the "Novum Organum" was one of the most notable treatises of a notable period, and must have been read widely and assimilated deeply into the common knowledge of succeeding centuries; so that the framers of the four principles of science must have been debtors

[1] "Man, as the minister and interpreter of nature, does and understands as much as his observations on the order of nature, either with regard to things or the mind, permit him, and neither knows nor is capable of more." The aphorism was defined as "The Foundation of Science" in THE FORUM, for April, 1899, p. 168.

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to Bacon, and none the less that the debt was not consciously recognized.

While the Baconian concept of the Mind as a reflex of Nature long lay germinant, much like the Greek concept of indestructibility, though for a lesser interval, it would now seem that it but awaited the vernal sun of advancing knowledge to warm it into burgeoning life. True, it formed a background for thought during the formative period of science from Lavoisier to Huxley, and must have exercised no small influence on intellectual production ; yet, just as the metaphysical axiom of Empedocles and Democritus demanded the development of the experimental method to force it into full vitality, so the Baconian axiom required the extension of scientific methods to mentality and physicality, in their joint aspects, to force it into active blossom. This advance came as the Science of Man assumed shape—long after Bacon, and even after the physical and biotic and geologic sciences bore their principles.

In anthropology, as in other sciences, research began with the rare and the abnormal, and gradually proceeded toward the near and the normal ; and as the observations became chaotic by reason of their number, they were generalized successively in terms of formal relation, structural relation, serial relation, and last of all genetic relation ; *i.e.*, they were integrated in such manner as to raise the system of knowledge to successively higher and higher planes. A quarter century ago, the leaders of the science were beginning to classify mankind in terms of mind-shaped activities and activital products, including arts and industries, social institutions, languages, and beliefs, with their attendant symbols and ceremonies. A consequence of this classification was the discovery that the human activities and their products are so frequently alike in widely separated provinces as to indicate that they must have sprung up spontaneously and independently among unrelated peoples ; and twenty years ago Powell formulated the discovery as a law of activital similarities, or cultural coincidences. The recognition of this law stimulated and guided research ; and the rapidly extending observations soon warranted the inference that the human mind mirrors its environment with striking fidelity, up to a point varying inversely with cultural development, and that beyond this point the mind, wheresoever placed, reflects environment chiefly in its spontaneous efforts to rise above and dominate the lower materials and forces of the physical world.

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Brinton, one of the leading expounders of this significant interrelation between Man and Nature, held that it expresses a unity of the human mind imposed by extraneous power ; though the fact that the relation varies with the degree of cultural development—*i.e.*, that savage minds respond alike to like stimuli, that barbaric minds are much alike in their responses to environmental stimuli, that civilized minds work in measurably similar ways under similar conditions, and that all enlightened minds are alike in their efforts to control the lower world, yet that minds of the different culture grades do not respond alike—indicates that the interaction itself conforms with those lines of serial development characteristic of both the inorganic and organic realms of nature ; so that the present-day anthropologist is impelled, at least provisionally, to class intellectual development among the strictly natural processes with which it is the province of science to deal. Thereby he is able to integrate the sum of experiences concerning intellectual mankind in a formula expressing the relations of psychic and non-psychic interactions, framed in conscious accordance with the Baconian foundation which so well, albeit so unwittingly, served to support the earlier pillars of science ; and in conformity with these it may be denoted *The responsivity of mind.*

On weighing this integration of experience, the sweeping question at once arises as to whether it is all-comprehensive—whether it covers the entire field of human thought. In the present stage of knowledge an affirmative answer may not be given with full confidence : but it may be noted that all lines of thought traceable to their sources seem to originate in natural interaction between Mind and external Nature ; that these lines are complexly interrelated with multifarious other lines of thought which may not unreasonably be inferred to be of similar natural origin ; that the tendency of modern science is to eliminate those thought-lines of doubtful origin involved in primitive mythology, crude speculation, etc. ; that every step in such elimination tends to simplify and clarify notions concerning the characters and relations of both Mind and Nature ; and that science is unable, without abandonment of its distinctive methods of acquiring and organizing knowledge, to take cognizance of interpretations of things arising in any other way than through the interaction of Mind and Nature. The question presents the most alluring of the unsolved problems of anthropology ; and many investigators of the psychic aspect of this science are contributing to its solution.

In that provisional weighing of responsivity required as a basis

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for immediate opinion, it is to be remembered that it stands for much more than a generalization of special observations along a single line ; it is the first, and, at the same time, the most brilliant, intellectual gem of the Renaissance, the unformulated complement of that quartet of principles so evidently framed through its unacknowledged aid, and the most comprehensive generalization of the youngest of the sciences, which depends on all the others for its methods and fundamental laws. True, the formula is new ; it has not yet been tested by generations of thinkers, like the four formulas already crystallized in the speech and literature of science ; yet it is so harmonious with these, and its principle is so essential to their integrity, that it gives promise of finding a place in the group. If so, it must be considered to represent, at the same time, the earliest and the latest of the principles of science, the original foundation and the final support for the superstructure of consciously organized knowledge.

W J McGee.

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A TUBERCULOSIS QUARANTINE NOT PRACTICABLE.

THAT tuberculosis is transmissible, that the bacillus tuberculosis is the specific cause of the disease, and that this bacillus exists in tuberculous sputum, carrying the infection through that medium, are statements which at this date are regarded as axiomatic by the vast majority of well-informed persons, whether advocates or opponents of a quarantine against this disease. And so widespread is the infective agent, that the disease exists endemically in practically all civilized countries ; no city or village being free from cases of tuberculosis in some form. Consumption, or pulmonary tuberculosis, is the greatest single cause of death in modern times. In recent years, we have been accustomed to hear that more than one-seventh of all deaths are due to it. There are some cities in which the proportion rises even higher, approximating one-fourth.

That the number of deaths from this disease is enormous is very generally appreciated by the public. What is not appreciated is, that the number of deaths is far from representing the actual number of cases, or, in other words, that tuberculosis is far from being uniformly fatal. Indeed, a very large proportion of those who are infected make a complete recovery ; many of them never knowing that they ever suffered from the disease. This statement is based on the evidence of post-mortem examinations where traces of a once existing tuberculosis are accidentally discovered. In such instances, death was due to an entirely different cause, perhaps many years after the tubercular attack.

Such pathologic facts as those just indicated must be thoroughly appreciated in considering the propriety of quarantining cases of tuberculosis. Certain clinical facts must also be borne in mind when the question of quarantine is discussed. Chief among these is, that the disease is slow in manifesting its presence, and sometimes very slow indeed in causing death. It is fair to say that the average length of a tuberculosis infection is not less than three years ; probably 50 per cent of the cases last as long as five years ; and a very respectable minority last ten years or more before recovery or death. It is certain

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that many of the long-drawn-out cases fall into the category of those patients who never know the nature of the chronic cough from which they suffer. It is also very certain that even where the disease is finally recognized by physicians, and, perhaps, by the patients themselves, the cough and infective expectoration have existed, in fully 90 per cent of the cases, for months or years before such recognition. In other words, the nature of this disease is so chronic that it may exist a long time before a diagnosis is made, and before the general health is impaired to such an extent as to render the sufferer an actual invalid.

I have said that the clinic facts must be most carefully considered when preventive measures are discussed, because quarantine, isolation, restriction—whichever name we may choose to apply to coercive measures—to be effective, must rest upon a practical basis. From the practical standpoint, the following conditions especially must be regarded, as efforts at quarantine cannot otherwise meet with success :

First : The disease must always be readily identified early in the infective period.

Second : The period of proposed isolation or quarantine must be reasonably definite and short, so that the individual or the community may properly provide for maintenance during that period.

Third : To make the measure practicable, the number of persons to be isolated must be small when compared to the rest of the population.

I feel convinced that practical sanitarians will agree, that unless we are able to comply with these conditions, quarantine restrictions must be abandoned, whatever the disease may be. When the proposal is made to enforce a measure of isolation upon one-seventh to one-fourth of the population, for a period of at least two years, and possibly more than ten, no reasonable sanitarian will look upon it as practicable.

It is to be regretted that the educational campaign in regard to this and kindred diseases should be obstructed by unwise and impracticable proposals. The opponents of scientific advance have their weapons ready for injudicious advocates of coercive quarantine. It is necessary, therefore, to call a halt. Enthusiastic volunteers in this movement must not be permitted, by hasty and ill-advised actions, to imperil advances in sanitation, which, if successful, will accomplish marvellous results. The recent publications in regard to certain proposed discussions by the California State Board of Health have but

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served to accentuate the prejudices of the ignorant, and to strengthen in advance the opposition of the pugnacious.

It must be distinctly understood that California has enacted no quarantine measure. Nor is it at all probable that such a measure, if enacted by any State, could stand the test of judicial consideration, unless the enacting State had already in existence a stringent quarantine and isolation law for its own tuberculous citizens ; for the Constitution of the United States provides, that the citizens of all the States shall have the same rights and privileges as the citizens of any one State. From the standpoint of the working health officer this is a practical statement, especially in view of the fact that local quarantine has already proved itself impossible.

All things considered, the remedy does not lie in quarantine, but in education ; and medical men should regard it their duty to carry on an educational propaganda such as will widely spread the knowledge that tuberculosis is infectious, and that there are certain definite methods of destroying or rendering inert the infective secretions and excretions. It is, indeed, already believed by many that it is the duty of public health authorities to see that these measures are carried out to the greatest possible extent. To attempt more than this at the present time is merely to run the risk of sacrificing all that has already been gained. Opposition to legitimate endeavor will die out when a new generation of men and women has been properly educated in the matter from childhood. Attempted legal coercion will but embitter and unify the opponents of truth, and precipitate a battle at a time utterly unsuited for such a trial of strength. In such a battle at this time one can foresee, for the advocates of quarantine, only disaster, and a consequent set-back for the more conservative persons who, while favoring rational preventive measures, are not willing to class the tuberculous patient with the victim of smallpox or diphtheria.

While all sanitarians recognize that tuberculosis causes more deaths than diphtheria and smallpox combined, there are yet well-defined reasons why the measures of prevention are not identical. Smallpox and diphtheria are contagious ; tuberculosis is simply infectious. In the case of these contagious diseases no one who remains exposed to them can be certain of escape, while one may live for years in perfect security in company with the tuberculosis infection. Obedience to certain simple, readily mastered rules will suffice to protect one against tuberculosis ; but there are no precau-

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tions which will absolutely protect one against the contagions mentioned.

It is as safe to live in a well-conducted hospital for consumptives as it is to live anywhere else. The educated and conscientious consumptive is not a greater source of danger to his fellowmen than is the sufferer from any non-infectious disease. It is the ignorant or careless consumptive who is a source of danger. Consequently, the educational measures assume greater importance than the blindly restrictive ones.

Throughout the world sanitarians are practically agreed upon the educational lines here advocated. In almost every State of the Union the State Board of Health will be found to have issued pamphlets and circulars setting forth briefly, and in language easily understood, the principal facts known in regard to the manner in which tuberculosis is propagated and statements concerning the ordinary preventive measures. If local boards would coöperate earnestly and intelligently with State Boards of Health, in this campaign of education, much good would be done. From time to time newspapers should publish, fully and accurately, the statements made by health boards, so that all could have the actual facts brought before them in an authoritative way, devoid of sensationalism, and without exaggeration. In this way sentiment could be developed, extreme views combated, and needless alarm allayed.

When every sufferer from tuberculosis becomes convinced that his own expectoration is the medium through which infection is conveyed, and that he must so dispose of it that it cannot dry and be blown about to be inhaled by others, the first important victory will have been won. And when the public fully comprehends that fact, and acts accordingly, it will realize that the consumptive who exercises this sanitary precaution is no longer a source of very great danger to his fellowman. Furthermore, when the public has reached that point it will also be ready to insist upon the proper inspection of meat, milk, and dairy cattle, in order to prevent the communication of tuberculosis through infected food. The results of a successful propaganda upon these lines will be to diminish to a very great extent the number of cases of a disease which causes more deaths than any other.

But it is essential to remember that a single statement of the facts of a problem so thoroughly involved from many standpoints—scientific, administrative, and legal—will not suffice. The statement must be iterated and reiterated, and every new generation must learn

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the truth for itself. Even when 99 per cent of the people believe, and act upon their belief, there will remain 1 per cent of pugnacious and unconvertible individuals, who, for conscience' sake, or through obstinacy, will continue to oppose the march of progress. Some of them will be ultimately converted by the logic of events, but some will never cease to hold to old and unreasonable views; and the latter must always be reckoned with as one factor in the problem. There is no reason why, by the use of the policeman's club, they should be converted into martyrs, and thus have their influence increased. Science, in this instance at least, does not require the aid of a policeman. Acute outbreaks, moral, physical, and infective, need to be overcome by the strong arm of the administrator of the law; but a chronic state of infection, like a chronic state of unrest, is best benefited through the soothing and ennobling methods of the schoolmaster —in this instance the physician acting as a sanitarian.

WILLIAM P. MUNN.

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THE PARADOXICAL PROFESSION.

It would be pleasant indeed if one could dismiss the subject of the clerical profession by simply declaring that a minister is a man who has pledged his honor to perform at one and the same time two mutually exclusive tasks. One would then have made a friend and ally of every clergyman by publicly stating his grievance. So this is the first paradox—introduced early by way of amiability, and as a means of clearing the deck for more serious action.

Theoretically, a minister is preacher and pastor combined; in practice he is either, or neither, but not both. At best you have the Rev. Dr. Jekyll, preaching like a seraph, and the Rev. Mr. Hyde, neglecting his parish calls; or you have the Rev. Dr. Jekyll, the affectionate friend of every immortal soul intrusted to his care, and the Rev. Mr. Hyde, expositor of hackneyed platitudes. Meanwhile the hungry sheep look up unfed and murmur a dismal plaint. "We paid for two Jekylls!" say they.

The protest, I think, should proceed from the pulpit, not from the pew. The mere business of sermon-making—uninterrupted by other concerns—would be enough to stagger any conscientious literary craftsman. To write one address each week, and allowing for two months' vacation, one has produced three volumes a year. Relying wholly upon manuscript, as some clergymen do, one will achieve an annual output of six volumes. And the writing, though designed continually to present the same theme to the same people, is to be profound without being wearisome, scholarly without being pedantic, brilliant without being sensational—though produced at a rate which would have appalled Alexandre Dumas or Lope Felix de Vega.

Such being the outgo of intellectual material, what of the income? It is sometimes said that there are two classes of preachers: those who have something to say and those who have to say something. Practically, however, there is only one class, and that the latter. Every minister who has been two years in orders is crazing the faculties of his soul trying to think of something worth preaching which he has not already preached. How shall a clergyman feed his brain while

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his brain feeds him? Nowhere under heaven can you find a man who is more in need of leisure for study and reflection and undisturbed personal and intellectual growth than the preacher. Results depend quite as much upon the preparation of the man as upon the preparation of the discourse. Good sermons are not constructed; they evolve. It is best that the mind should at times lie fallow. Though writing in prose, the preacher is the bard of the spiritual highlands, and his mental movements resemble, or should resemble, those of a poet.

And this being his ideal vocation, what is the actual professional routine? I find, as a matter of sober fact, that, irrespective of impulse or inspiration, he turns off weekly job-lots—perfunctory, mechanical, sometimes even somewhat soulless. He tells himself that if it were not necessary to write, there would be time to gather a store of really valuable homiletic material; also that if it were not necessary to gather material, there would be time to write an admirably good address. As it is—well, he asks our indulgence, somewhat after the fashion of the proprietor of a Colorado music hall, who posted a notice, "Don't shoot the piano-player: he's doing the best he can."

But suppose it were possible to write from three to six devotional volumes each year, just look at the conditions under which that monstrous task is attempted! This tireless author of ours is meanwhile to journey from mansion to cottage and from cottage to mansion, ringing our door-bells, and inquiring after our health. He is "not to spend too much time in the study;" he is to keep open house all day and every day to all the world; he can never be spared at dinners and receptions; he is indispensable at weddings and funerals. From time to time he must address the Young Men's Christian Association, preside at temperance meetings, attend missionary conventions, raise money for hospitals, go sponsor for all sorts of philanthropies, figure prominently on school boards, take an active interest in municipal reform, and read papers at the conferences of learned societies. Ecclesiastical parlance has at last excogitated a name for the ideal clergyman. He is to be a "hustler." And now, to heighten the humor already involved in a clergyman's absolutely paradoxical effort to be two incompatible men at once, the cold world looks on and calls him *lazy!*

I have learned that the main element in ministerial success is not the sermon, nor the man behind the sermon, but the wife behind the man. Amongst our clergy the sacraments of marriage and ordination

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are practically interdependent. It is only by sheer luck that an unmarried or unengaged theologue gets a call to a pulpit. Aware of this fact, many a divinity student has already persuaded some devoted girl to promise to share his highly problematic fortunes. It is, therefore, an exceedingly anxious moment when he emerges, penniless, from an institution of sacred learning. No wife, no church; no church, no wife! What marvellous things were accomplished by the Reformation! Formerly the Benedictines were a celibate order; now our Protestant clergy are an order of Benedicts! Luther said priests might marry; but we, in our day, have out-Luthered Luther and said that they must, and then we have set their salaries at such a figure that they can't. A delightful paradox—unless you happen to be a minister!

Quite obviously there are two factors in this problem, the church, on the one hand, and the preacher, on the other. The church desires first of all that the parsonage should be "occupied." It also desires to secure an unsalaried assistant pastor, who will teach a Bible class, lead a mission band, manage a sewing-circle, preside over the Women's Christian Temperance Union, play the organ in prayer-meeting, and make friendly calls from door to door. But the chief insistence is less that the minister shall be married than that he shall on no account be single. Here and there a few single men have cut uncanonical capers in a few isolated parishes, and by an unwarrantably sweeping generalization the church at large has drawn the conclusion that single men are an insecure investment. And even if the Little Minister preserves his dignity—and, of course, he sincerely desires to preserve it—there are not a few playful Babbies who menace his peace of mind and sobriety of demeanor. Besides, a clergyman is "a marrying man," and his people know it. Consequently, they watch his manœuvres intently; they invent myths to account for him and legends to relate him; a dozen expectant caps are set to catch him; and he is presently in a strait betwixt two alternatives—to marry within his parish and incur factional strife, or outside of it and incur wholesale rebellion. It would, therefore, be well, if his domestic future were determined before he undertakes his first pastoral venture.

Happily, there is nothing a young gentleman is more willing to do than to enter the blessed estate of matrimony. Having early decided to take holy orders, your stripling theologue will fling himself with a delicious abandon upon the tide of youthful (and in this case also utilitarian) sentiment. A wife is stock in trade; moreover, she is

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an emblem of consecration. Some men marry for money, others for mere romantic love, this man for the church. Regarding himself as a special pet of Providence, he ignores those economic laws which, if rightly heeded, would eventually empower him to pay bills. Every calling and profession, save only the one which above all the rest demands that a man be free from worldly entanglements, permits the beginner to go single until he is at least independent. Who ever thinks of insisting that gosling barristers or tadpole physicians shall get themselves wives? Who will call it anything but a mingling of folly with sin for a young merchant or salesman or accountant to signalize his initial experiment in commercial life by assuming responsibilities beyond his power to fulfil? And yet our youthful pastor must begin his career as a self-supporting citizen burdened precisely thus. The Lord will provide.

Now it would seem rather appropriate that an institution which asks a man to mortgage his future at the very outset should give him unusual assurance of financial support. During the first five years of his ministry he ought to be better paid than the young men who in other professions are permitted for a season to live single. But no; the minister receives far less.

> "Shillin' a day,
> Bloomin' good pay,
> Lucky to touch it,
> Shillin' a day!"

And the shilling is seldom promptly paid. Few churches regard their contract with a clergyman as a business agreement. His monthly stipend is not considered a *quid pro quo*. His salary is not intended to pay him for preaching, but to enable him to preach. His position rests upon a poetic, rather than a practical, economic basis. The man of God is our guest.

A large and wealthy city church is the most considerate host in the world. Consent to receive $6,000 a year, and you get it. You get it all, and you get it promptly. But rare is the man who begins his ministry under such favorable circumstances. The usual thing is to undergo an apprenticeship in the country, where, promised $600 per annum, you get it in tiny, unreliable quantities, tardily paid you. Single, you could fight the dragon; married, you succumb. Debts accumulate. You are marked among your own parishioners as "slow pay." Business men comment upon your laxity of conscience. They

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despise your acceptance of "clergymen's rates," half-fare tickets, and other devices for tempering the wind to the shorn lamb. Meanwhile, the fault lies not with the clergyman, but with the church. Like people, like priest. Half-paid at best, and for long periods not paid at all, the clergyman is forced to adopt the business methods of his employers.

It is an axiom of the laic philosophy that a minister ought to be poor. That is, no doubt, a very amiable maxim; but I am moved nevertheless to ask, "*How* poor?" Too poor to pay his debts? Too poor to provide for the comfort of the wife the church has bidden him to take? Too poor to provide for his own old age? Too poor to be fearless in such an hour as a candid word from the pulpit may throw him into temporary unemployment? Lowell was not far wrong when he said that no man had a right to preach until possessed of an independent income; for Lowell's pardonable hyperbole laid bare the ethical problem of the modern pulpit. Put a man in a position of miserable dependence, and you make him a craven. He will preach what is "best for his people." That man is "sound." He is "reliable." "You always know where to find him." Bishop Potter, who speaks of the pulpit as a throne, may well reverse the figure. The real throne is not the pulpit. It is the pew.

A minister is a teacher, but he is very commonly afraid above all things really to teach—that is, to teach anything at all new to his hearers. Apparently, the bulk of his people do not come to church to learn; they come to hear their own convictions officially concurred in. At least, this is what the minister logically infers from the frequent congratulation, "A splendid, splendid sermon! It has done me a world of good. You have said just what I have always thought." On the other hand, evidence is not wanting to show that any departure from beaten paths is regarded with suspicion. Inasmuch as the educated clergyman is almost sure to be in advance of his people, this situation involves a distressing moral dilemma.

Formerly, preachers could be candid. In the days when clergy and laity were equally distrustful of theological innovations, equally indifferent to the historico-critical analysis of sacred documents, equally hostile in their attitude toward "science falsely so called," nothing in particular was concealed, because there was nothing in particular to conceal. That time, however, is swiftly passing; and in most quarters the old security is at an end. There is, therefore, the danger that the preacher will learn "the caution of his convictions," maintaining

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(whether consciously or not) two hardly reconcilable creeds—the one for the study, the other for the pulpit. This is not entirely honest, neither is it entirely dishonest. Regarded as a minister is tempted to regard it when he finds it necessary to preach his gospel to a congregation more conservative than himself, it is tactful and diplomatic.

But when one views the ministry in the light of its own high idealism one cannot but demur. What business have tact and diplomacy in a Christian pulpit? Mental reservations neutralize ministerial power. The balancing-pole is so much in evidence that we begin to fear that the man distrusts his own footing. Not a few of us are already asking ourselves whether the preachers preach what they believe, or "what they believe the people believe they ought to believe." And although a man preaches nothing he does not believe to be true, we wonder sometimes whether he is preaching all he believes to be true. See the books on his study shelves—Andrew D. White's "Warfare of Science with Theology," Gordon's "New Theodicy," McGiffert's "Apostolic Age," and a row of critical treatises—Cheyne, Driver, Wellhausen, Keim, Cornill, and the rest. You would never guess it from his pulpit deliverances.

His position, ethically anomalous as regarded by the outsider, finds a certain more or less reasonable justification before the minister's conscience. He tells himself that he is called to preach his beliefs, not his doubts; that the disputed dogmas of formal theology are, after all, very unimportant; that there is abundant pulpit material at hand without reaching out for disturbing themes; that the way to bring people to a broader faith is to lead them so gradually that they will not know they are being led; and that there is danger of so unsettling the foundations of belief that your parishioners will be lost in the quicksands of agnosticism.

To superficial minds this seems a very satisfactory defence; but look closer. A minister is not to preach his doubts. Of course not; but quite evidently these novel opinions are not doubts. If a man accepts evolution, he does not doubt the Biblical cosmogony, he denies it; if a man accepts the Higher Criticism, he does not doubt the traditional theory of Scripture, he denies it; if a man believes in restoration, he does not doubt the doctrine of eternal retribution, he denies it; and every denial is conversely an affirmation. The tenets of the New Theology are not held by liberal clergymen as tentative, hypothetical, or even merely negative statements; they are settled convictions. The preacher confesses to his own reason that these radical

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opinions are so vitally and so fundamentally related to his whole scheme of religious thought that to relinquish them would be to lose his hold upon the foundations of belief. His doubts are really the strong defenders of his faith. If, then, he has found the way to a more stable trust in the unseen, why should he not tell us about it?

Are these matters of no importance? Is it a trivial affair that a great religious body should teach young people that their souls' salvation will be jeopardized if they accept the theory of evolution? Is it a trifling circumstance that the brand of heresy should be put upon those self-sacrificing scholars who have endeavored with infinite toil to discover the truth about the Bible and its origin? Or is it a matter of no consequence that these unimportant doctrines should be made the shibboleths of denominational discord? Surely, we have not acted as if debated questions were unimportant. There is in all this world no intensity of feeling in any way comparable with the *odium theologicum*, whether clerical or laic.

Again, some ministers, and, for that matter, some pew-holders, are saying that there are plenty of other things to preach. So there are. A man may preach the essentials of ethics and even the essentials of devotional piety and never trespass upon imperilled doctrinal territory. He may, if he like, leave the circumscribed field of purely religious reflection, and discourse upon secular themes, treating the biographies of lately deceased celebrities, reviewing the course of public events, or commenting upon the trend of social movements. But this is to evade the difficulty. And in the long run that sort of preacher will fail to satisfy a really religious congregation. What is worse, he has put himself in an exceedingly uncomfortable position before the bar of his own conscience. When he has successfully avoided the suspicion of unsoundness, he despises himself for having veiled what he believes to be the truth.

Then, too, we are told that people are best led when led gradually and unconsciously. As the minister is aiming at results, he is not to arouse resentment or to excite opposition. Patience! Take time; be moderate; a little leaven will leaven the whole lump. Nevertheless, it is not irrelevant to compare with this Fabian policy the thoroughly Napoleonic tactics of those daring leaders who in days gone by made converts to liberalism by the hundred thousand. Wiclif cared nothing for conciliation; Huss signed no contract with duplicity; Luther was no trimmer; but all three got results, and got them faster and in greater abundance than the covert apostles of the new

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faith are doing. After all, there is nothing else quite so persuasive as martyrdom ; and if our preachers can find any fire of persecution to walk into, they will be surprised to see how rapidly their suffering will win them results.

But of all the excuses for pulpit diplomacy, the last is the best. "Let us have a care," say the hesitant leaders of a trusting people, "lest we shake the convictions of our hearers." To this one is tempted to reply that they take their hearers rather too seriously. Convictions! They never had any convictions. If their religious opinions are mere wind-blown flowers that will shed their petals at the least stir of controversy, what right have they to call them convictions? However beautiful or consoling or inspiring such ideas may be, the clergy will best serve their people by forcing them to call every one of them to stern account. Doubt, unrest, temporary scepticism, experimental agnosticism—these are the black storm-clouds through which the mind must pass on its way to the sunlit summits of an abiding faith. People must be taught to stop acting as if the tenets of the religious philosophy would bear no investigation.

There is at present a widespread opinion among ministers that the new learning is for the clergy and not for the laity ; that it is too subtle for popular comprehension ; that it is dangerously allied with destructive scepticism ; that it is deadening to the higher spiritual perceptions. Yet, even granting that the people are best left undisturbed in the simple faith of their childhood, it becomes a question of serious importance to know what meanwhile is to be the fate of the preacher's conscience. Shall it be counted his duty to maintain a policy of altruistic deception? By a distressing inference one gathers that in certain quarters this is regarded as the supreme act of ministerial abnegation : the priest lays down his honor for the salvation of his people. One hesitates to quote in this connection the memorable lines of Emerson, yet they have a striking significance just at this time.

> "I like a church, I like a cowl,
> I love a prophet of the soul,
> And on my heart monastic aisles
> Fall like sweet strains and pensive smiles ;
> Yet not for all his faith can see
> Would I that cowled churchman be!"

Again, a minister is paradoxically required to preach his highest conceivable ideals, and is then blamed for his inability to live up to

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them. People act as if clergymen claimed to be perfect. They seem to think that when once a man has donned a preacher's coat he is exempt from temptation. "We could be good," they say, "if only we were preachers." Then, how deplorable that a man who has taken holy orders should fall short of complete sanctity; and how surprising that, having himself failed of the goal, he should still recommend the goal to his parishioners! Physician, heal thyself!

Now in certain respects it is true that a minister is an ethical immune. So far as gross temptations go, he is safe because he is watched. The whole community unites to police him. Their vigilance also extends to trifles. Let a preacher take a hand at whist, let him spend an evening at the play, or let him so much as light a good cigar, and the resultant criticism on the part of his parishioners is likely to make him considerably uncomfortable. Moreover, the man is at the same time policed from within. His zeal for spiritual service permits no peccadillos that will limit or cripple his influence. His first thought is for the effect his conduct will have upon others, particularly upon the young. That is why even the men whose moral teaching is most liberal are likely to assume in practice the *rôle* of the most conservative.

Yet, there are subtle temptations involved in the very profession of preaching, temptations to vanity, to insincerity, to intolerance, and to superficiality—to vanity, because the man is continually before an audience, and before an audience accustomed to express their admiration with fulsome extravagance; to insincerity, because piety will obey neither calendar nor clock, and the minister must not infrequently preach and pray when the mood forbids; to intolerance, because the preacher has things all his own way when he speaks from the pulpit; and to superficiality, because of addressing all his arguments to an audience already fully in accord with his views.

Pastoral duties have also their dangers. The pastoral relation is absolutely anomalous. You say to a clergyman, "Here in these many miles of territory are these many living beings; proceed to become a devoted friend to every one of them." That is a reversal of the inexorable law which governs all human relations. The principle is, from within out, not from without inward. Friendships are not made, they grow. The pastor, then, is to violate the natural order of things, and to do so without injury to himself. He is to be uniformly cordial and sympathetic, even toward the people who thwart his plans and undermine his influence. What matter that the attempt

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occasionally compels him to simulate a regard he does not feel? He is to avoid giving offence, but never by the tactics of the trimmer. Affronted, he is to turn the other cheek, but without lowering his dignity. On all occasions he is to "get hold of the people," yet never by guile. Had the man the rare genius for indiscriminate friendship, he would find pastoral ministration a means of splendid personal development. On the other hand, were people content with a benevolent interest, the clergyman would never run the risk of turning social hypocrite.

Then, too, in both preaching and pastoral work, there is an unavoidable over-culture of the sympathetic emotions. A man may lecture, or a man may act, with complete *sang froid;* but real preaching is more than intellectual and more than dramatic, just as religion itself is more than a philosophy and more than a system of ethics. It is the flaming outburst of emotional expression that lifts the sermon above every other form of human utterance. Perhaps a more common danger is the deadening of ambition. Young men are taught that as ministers they must not seek place, or fame, or fortune. By and by the Lord will call His servant to a larger field. Except on these terms it is wicked to aspire to a higher salary. It is far from commendable to desire increased influence. The strongest passions of the masculine soul, the craving for gain and the longing for power—motives which actuate all commercial enterprise and all professional endeavor save that of the ministry—find only rebuke when they are discovered beneath the conduct of a clergyman.

Moreover, it is not good for a man to associate almost exclusively with women. A clergyman preaches to women, calls upon women, directs the philanthropy of women. He is a woman's hero. What the soldier wins by his bravery, the actor by his genius, the author by his style, and the musician by his art, the minister receives by merit of his sacred calling. It is an unearned increment, and he feels it to be so. Were he to withdraw from the pulpit, the spell would be broken. Ah, but is not such adulation very pleasant under existing circumstances? No, it is only tantalizing. The response which above all else the minister craves—the response of strong men, springing from the appreciation of fine and worthy achievement—is scantily awarded. Instead, the preacher gets the same thing from women. It is a consolation prize.

But suppose a man seek purely masculine associations, then a great gulf is fixed between him and his fellows by the sanctity of his voca-

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tion. A crowd of men becomes uneasy as soon as the parson enters the room; he is always the skeleton at the feast. The fault is ours, no doubt, not his; but the fact remains. Little good will it do him to dress like a business man, to avoid what he calls the "holy whine," to stave off the "ministerial hand-shake," or to bid us direct his letters plain "Mr." He is better than we are, and we know it. He may not mingle in our vain and worldly pleasures. He never sees us just as we are, but beholds us from the pulpit with our moral and spiritual Sunday clothes on, or at the confessional with none at all. As a result of this painful isolation a minister unconsciously acquires a manner of his own, a philosophy of his own, a point of orientation all his own. He views life through the diamond panes of his study windows. He becomes queer, and it worries him at times to realize that he is not like other men.

These things strike at self-respect. So does the fact that his constituency is not the result of natural selection, but is ready made. If I don't like your book, I throw it down; if I don't like your lectures, I stay at home or go to the play; but if I don't like your sermons, I nevertheless come regularly to hear you. Only my religion could compel me to do so. And it is under just these conditions that the average clergyman confronts his hearers.

Few men ever receive a unanimous call. The usual thing is to begin a pastorate in spite of opposition, and to continue it in spite of complaint. That would be an acceptable, indeed even a rather inspiring, condition for an interesting political administration, but hardly for the superintendence of a parish. Think of preaching the gospel of love to a recalcitrant faction who are waiting their chance to oust you! Think, too, of consciously inflicting yourself upon a lot of people who endure you only because they think it their Christian duty to do so! Think of taking pay from pew-holders who devoutly wish you were in Borrioboola-gha!

Character is imperilled precisely as self-respect is diminished; and certain phases of the minister's experience are positively degrading. For instance, there is the experience to which many a clergyman is subjected of the interregnum between two parishes. Sensitive to the point of morbidness, the preacher tells himself that people regard him as little as they do a jilted girl or a grass widow. He suspects that gossip is inquiring whether he left his church because he hated it or because it hated him. Successful men seem to gloat over his discomfiture. Patronizing friends, with kindest intentions, suggest his name

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for slum pulpits, or introduce him to the portly, thunderous secretaries of city missionary societies. Denominational deputies search his "record." Here and there a friend advises him to go into business. The procurers of book agents fall upon him and beseech him to peddle their wares. (Unemployed preachers make excellent book agents. You will think twice before turning a minister away unheard.)

Humiliating upon its personal side, the situation presents a serious aspect professionally. The ministerial wage-market is monstrously overcrowded; instead of churches competing to secure clergymen, the clergymen compete to secure churches; and hot though this competition may be, the fact of its existence must be veiled from the world. It is ecclesiastical suicide to make direct application for a vacant pulpit. You must tell your bosom friend to tell a little boy to tell his maternal aunt to tell her brother-in-law to tell his type-writer girl to tell the chairman of the standing committee that, if approached with due consideration, you might be induced to accept the position. That is the way to be dignified. It is indispensable that a ministerial Lackland should maintain the mien and state of royalty as he goes in quest of a throne. All would be well if, like King Arthur, he could make a realm and reign. Clerical constituencies, however, are not made but won.

Certain denominations have established bureaus of pastoral supply, which, like little David Copperfield, carry word that "Barkis is willin'." Ideally, that is a beautiful arrangement, but there is danger that in practical operation it will work like the sweating system; for the poorer churches (and rich churches are rare) demand cheap ministers, and the agency may be tempted to cheapen its applicants by maintaining a waiting list. Keep a man unemployed from January to June and he will be prepared (literally by prayer and fasting) to accept a position inconceivably out of proportion to his merits.

Suppose, now, that by grace of intervention on the part of some influential friend or by favorable recommendation on the part of the bureau of pastoral supply the unemployed clergyman is brought to the attention of a church committee, what then? He must candidate. There has gone abroad an impression that the candidating system is done away. So it is, in a few city churches; but in the church at large it still flourishes. A minister is invited to display his stature, his dress, his physiognomy, his voice, his gestures, his rhetoric, his prayers, his piety, and his professional *savoir-faire* before a critical audience composed of possible purchasers. Sometimes the perform-

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ance reminds me a little of Fortuny's picture, "The Choice of a Model." At other times it suggests Mr. John S. Wise's account of the slave market—only with this difference, that the minister usually mounts the auctioneer's block with a full consciousness of the degradation involved.

Foreseeing all these difficulties, a preacher is extremely reluctant to leave one parish until he reads his title clear to another, and, if possible, a better. He may feel that the day of his usefulness is past and that he ought in honor to make a change; he may realize that his people dislike him and want to get rid of him; he may even confess to himself that his present field has become so distasteful that he can no longer unfeignedly devote to it his best energies; and yet he is afraid to cast loose. Sometimes a man recognizes that he ought for a season to withdraw from the pulpit altogether. There are times when one is spiritually unequal to the task of preaching. Lacordaire, in such an emergency, fled from Notre Dame in Paris and sought seclusion in Rome. Will any Protestant minister do as much? A pulpit is a treadmill; the man dares not stop. Yet what thinks he, many and many a day, of the ethics of going on?

There comes a time when a man can neither stay in the ministry nor get out of it. He cannot stay in it, because, at the age of forty-five or fifty, he has reached the ministerial dead-line. Churches prefer youthful preachers. They like the young face, the erect figure, the spirited delivery, and the vivacious thought of a boy. Another paradox! They ought to prefer the learning, the experience, the insight, the ripened character, and the chastened spirituality of a man past middle life, for only he can best minister to their real needs. Yet we are confronted with Ian Maclaren's pathetic query, "Shall the old minister be shot?" And whatever answer we make to that query, it remains mournfully true that the old minister is either removed by methods more or less heartless, or deceived into imagining that another parish will afford him an opportunity for continued usefulness. Let him resign, and seek that other parish, and he learns his mistake. A mere stripling succeeds to his pulpit, while he himself remains unemployed.

But it must not be imagined that this unemployed clergyman has left the ministry. The ministry cannot be left. It sticks to a man, whether he will or not. He is regarded as a monarch who has ignominiously abdicated his throne, as a monk who has profanely discarded his cowl, as a soldier who has disloyally repudiated his mili-

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tary title. He cannot become a layman. He cannot enter any other calling save that to which he has given his life, because the clerical routine has unfitted him for successful endeavor in other directions. Sometime we shall evolve a system of eleemosynary support for our professionally disabled spiritual advisers.

What name, then, shall we give to the ministerial calling? I insist that it is a mere butterfly existence. A man has not served his apprenticeship in it until he has reached thirty or thirty-five, and his clerical life is snuffed out at forty-five or fifty. This is well known. Would it not be natural to suppose that so disheartening a condition would serve as a very effective deterrent for youthful aspirants toward holy orders? Yet at the very time when the dead-line is drawn with cruelest stringency, behold our theological seminaries thronged with ambitious students! What can possibly tempt them to hazard their all in so perilous a venture as the ministerial career?

So far as I understand these men, they are attracted by the spiritual rewards of the profession. Spiritual rewards! Can one speak of spiritual rewards for work illy done, for bills unpaid, for liberty of speech severely abridged, for a character almost inevitably distorted and, perhaps, even a good deal feminized? The fallacy is distinctly apparent. It is true that there are ministers—and this is the greatest paradox of all—who are so much larger than their profession that none of its limitations seem to affect them. Such men will preach eloquently; will, at the same time, shepherd their flocks with patient, affectionate care; will declare the truth as God gives them to see it, no matter how disastrous the consequence to themselves, or will so completely win the esteem of their hearers that no disastrous consequences are ever to be feared; will thrive morally and spiritually upon the very temptations which menace the uprightness and integrity of their ministerial brethren. These are the big men who kill the little men. These are the conquerors whose dazzling example lures a thousand rash youngsters to their everlasting undoing. And yet they are good youngsters, one and all. They have chosen this sacred calling because of the vast good it would enable them to do. Let them stop and consider whether they might not do an even vaster good by keeping themselves totally out of it!

Pious souls used once to speak of the "divine call to preach." It is time we should begin to hear something of the divine call not to preach. The real trouble with the Christian ministry at the present time lies in the appalling overcrowding of its ranks. As long as it is the easiest

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thing in the world for a church to secure a preacher, and as long as that church knows that there are some five hundred starving doctors of divinity lying in wait to secure that preacher's pulpit, should he by any chance become dispossessed of it, we shall witness the melancholy continuance of existing conditions—overwork underpaid, the teacher afraid to teach, the model of morals and religion beset with subtle, yet overwhelming temptations—unless, of course, he is the big man killing the little man.

The question, therefore, resolves itself into a highly Malthusian proposition : Let the clergy thin itself out. In the interest of the cause they devotedly love, in the interest of the profession they have chosen, in the interest of the future of the mighty church they serve, all ministers ought solemnly to examine themselves and inquire whether they are doing right or wrong to remain where they are. The various denominations ought to raise their requirements of admission to their priesthood. The issue is primarily economic. We must restore the balance of demand and supply. It has been the fatal error of the Church that it has rendered the clergyman's labor one of the cheapest of all known commodities.

HENRY J. BARRYMORE.

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CANALS FROM THE GREAT LAKES TO THE SEA.

THE only practicable route for a canal from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard, entirely within the limits of the United States, is possessed by the State of New York. In the early part of the century, the people of the State took advantage of this fact; and, under the leadership of Morris and Clinton, they built the Erie Canal, which, more than anything else, has made New York the Empire State, and New York City the financial and commercial centre of the Western Hemisphere.

The people most interested in a canal from the Great Lakes to New York are: (1) The people of New York, who reap the commercial and industrial benefits that such a canal brings; (2) the people of the upper lake region, who want the cheapest possible highway to the ocean and the markets of the world for the products of their fields, mines, forests, and workshops; and (3) the people engaged in commercial and manufacturing pursuits all along our North Atlantic seaboard, from Maine to Maryland, who desire cheap transportation for the food they consume, the raw materials they work up, the manufactured articles they produce, and the commodities in which they deal. It is not extravagant to say that 20,000,000 people in our country are more or less directly interested in the benefits that accrue from such a canal, and that would accrue to a still greater degree should the canal be rebuilt of more generous proportions, to fit it more fully for their needs.

When the Erie Canal was completed, four North Atlantic seaports were about equal in population and commercial importance—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; and each was working and planning in the hope that the mantle of commercial and financial supremacy would fall upon it. But the matter was settled in favor of New York, largely through the Erie Canal; and to-day the population, importance, and wealth of New York City and its immediate environment far exceed those of all the above-named rivals combined. During recent years, it has begun to lose its relative place in certain lines of business; and this has been coincident with the decline of commerce on the Erie Canal.

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The existing Erie Canal is not up to date; it has fallen behind in the great march of events; and the people who are in touch with the subject feel the absolute necessity of its radical improvement or of the building of another and better canal in a different location. If improved, in what shall the improvement consist? If a new waterway is to replace the Erie Canal, what particular route shall it follow, in order to be of the greatest benefit to the 20,000,000 people interested? These are interesting questions just now, and it is for the purpose of replying to them that this article has been written.

In trying to find the correct solution of the problem, it early became evident that certain interests demanded one kind of canal while other interests demanded a different kind of canal. A correct solution requires that all factors be carefully weighed—a matter involving considerable study and research.

The different classes of canals from the lakes to the sea which deserve to be considered are:

1. A great ship canal suited to ocean-going vessels.
2. A ship canal suited to vessels navigating the Great Lakes.
3. A barge canal suited to vessels of 1,000 to 2,000 tons burden.
4. A small canal suited to vessels of 250 to 500 tons burden.

A SHIP CANAL FOR OCEAN VESSELS.

It is beautiful and inspiriting to picture in one's mind the passing of great ocean vessels through our Atlantic ports and into and through the Great Lakes, carrying with them the products of foreign workshops and foreign fields, right into the heart of the continent, and there being loaded with our own surplus products destined for the teeming populations of the world beyond the seas. But such a picture is believed to be an illusion which can never be realized.

Commerce on the ocean is carried on in vessels drawing from twenty to thirty-two feet; and to utilize these vessels in the manner pictured would require a canal and lake and interlake channels thirty to thirty-five feet in depth. A canal of this depth from New York City—the most accessible of all our Atlantic ports—to Lake Erie, by any practicable route, would cost an enormous sum of money, probably not less than $300,000,000. If ocean ships could get into the upper lakes their troubles would not be over; for there are no harbors on the lakes suitable for their accommodation, and the channels between the lakes are not of sufficient depth to permit them to pass.

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The United States has been working for years, and has expended many millions of dollars, in the effort to secure channels twenty feet deep between lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, and Superior. To deepen these channels to thirty feet or more would require years of time and the expenditure of vast sums of money. The cost of constructing a ship canal, together with the needed improvements of lake harbors and interlake channels, such as would permit of the realization of the beautiful picture of large ocean ships going to Chicago, Duluth, and other upper lake ports, would be so great as to be entirely incommensurate with the good to be accomplished thereby. This circumstance is made the more emphatic when we consider that there is a grave doubt whether the ocean ships could profitably spend the time in going through the canal, even if one were built, and if all the other work just outlined should be undertaken.

If ocean vessels limited in draft to eighteen or twenty feet—*i.e.*, vessels suited to lake channels and harbors—should attempt to transact business between the upper lake ports and foreign ports, they would find themselves hopelessly outclassed in carrying capacity and economy of transportation by the large lake vessels on the lakes, the great ocean vessels on the ocean, and cheap barges on the canal; and it is practically certain that they could not compete with the latter combination, even handicapped as it would be by the necessity of transferring cargo at Buffalo and New York. In the words of a distinguished Senator of the United States, "A ship canal from the sea to the upper lakes, navigated by large ocean-going vessels, is an iridescent dream which will never be realized."

A SHIP CANAL FOR LAKE VESSELS.

The great vessels on the upper lakes now draw about eighteen and one-half feet of water as a maximum; and it is safe, and at the same time liberal, to assume, that in the not distant future a draft of twenty feet will be obtained, that all lake harbors and interlake channels will be deepened to accommodate vessels of this draft. A ship canal which will give these lake vessels access to tide water is a very different affair from a ship canal suited to ocean vessels. It is much less expensive, and much more justifiable. However, the expense would still be enormous.

There are three possible routes for such a canal from Lake Erie to New York. One follows in general the line of the Erie Canal from

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Buffalo to Albany, and down the Hudson to New York. This route, while possible, is not practicable, if only for two reasons: (1) the cost; and (2) the length of time required for the passage by vessels. Along the line of the Erie Canal, and very largely due to the canal, there has been built up a chain of cities, which has not its equal in importance in America; Albany, Troy, Watervliet, Amsterdam, Herkimer, Schenectady, Little Falls, Utica, Rome, Syracuse, Lyons, Rochester, Lockport, Tonawanda, and Buffalo being the principal ones. The construction of a ship canal through or around these cities, with their neighboring railways and highways, would be exceedingly expensive. Along this route the distance from Buffalo to Albany would be 350 miles, of which at least 250 miles would be represented by a narrow, artificial waterway, in which loaded ships could not make more than four miles an hour; so that the time consumed in passage, irrespective of other considerations, would render the route impracticable.

In both of the other possible ship-canal routes the passage is made from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and the latter becomes part of the route. In one case, Lake Ontario is left at Oswego, and the ship-canal route follows up the Oswego River to the Oneida River, thence up the Oneida River to Oneida Lake, through the lake and on and over the divide to the Mohawk River, down through the valley of the Mohawk to the Hudson, and down the Hudson to New York. Though this route, also, would be entirely within the territory of the United States, there are several serious objections to it. The first important objection is the great amount of lockage required. To lock down from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario there would be 326 feet of descent; to lock up from Lake Ontario to the summit level above Oneida Lake there would be 172 feet of ascent; and to lock down from this summit level to the Hudson, at or near Troy or Albany, there would be 418 feet of descent—916 feet in all in making the passage one way. As every foot of lockage costs a large sum, and consumes time in passage, the objection to an excessive amount of lockage is obvious. Second, the supply of water to the summit level above Oneida Lake, for a large ship canal, is somewhat problematical, and certainly is expensive. Again, the building of a large ship canal through the thickly populated valley of the Mohawk would be attended with many difficulties, and be very costly.

The third ship-canal route follows down Lake Ontario to the St. Lawrence River; thence down the river, using the main river chan-

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nel, to the vicinity of Ogdensburg ; thence still on down by canals, past the rapids, using the river itself where possible, to some point to the northwest of the lower, or northern, end of Lake Champlain. Here the St. Lawrence would be left, and a canal would be built from the river to Lake Champlain, which would be followed to its head. From the head of Lake Champlain the route would be by canal across to the upper Hudson, then down this river, past Troy and Albany, to New York City.

This route has some advantages and some disadvantages. It has less lockage than the Oswego-Oneida route, and a very large portion of it is in the wide, free waters of Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence River, Lake Champlain, and the Hudson River ; the water supply for lockage is unlimited ; and the canal by this route is probably much cheaper than by any other. On the other hand, it is the longest route, and it has the marked objection that it is not entirely within our own dominion ; a portion of it on the St. Lawrence River, and the canal from this river to Lake Champlain, being in Canada. And this leads up to the fact that the natural outlet of the Great Lake region, the line of least resistance and the shortest and cheapest route for a ship canal to tide water, is by the St. Lawrence to the seaport of Montreal, which has the distinction of being further away from the sea than any other seaport in the world habitually visited by ocean ships. It is a remarkable fact that it is about ten times as far from the sea as any other seaport.

The question then arises : If a ship canal be built from Lake Erie to New York by the Ontario, St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain route, would it not be more apt to redound to the disadvantage of American commerce than to its advantage? In my opinion, it certainly would. Such a ship-canal route would follow down the St. Lawrence until within thirty to fifty miles of the seaport of Montreal. It would then branch off to New York, which would be reached only after traversing some 350 miles of canal, lake, and river ; and when at New York commodities destined for most foreign markets would be further away from these markets than they were when they left the St. Lawrence. Such a canal would be of some benefit to our local, and strictly domestic, business ; but it would just as certainly be a detriment to our inbound and outbound foreign commerce, tending strongly to take it away from New York, and to build up the commerce of the port of Montreal. Of course, to reach Montreal, Canada would have to add a short section to our ship canal. But this she would certainly do ;

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and then it would be inconceivable that grain, lumber, iron ore, manufactured steel, or other articles, destined for foreign markets, reaching within fifty miles of Montreal, would retrace their steps through 350 miles of a contracted waterway back to the port of New York.

For New York State to build such a canal, or permit it to be built, would, in my opinion, be to commit commercial suicide. There would, of course, be some interests along the route which would be benefited by it; but the State as a whole would be tremendously injured. The same is true, although to a less extent, in regard to a ship canal built by the Ontario, Oswego, Oneida route. If the Great Lake freighters, carrying 7,000, 8,000, or 9,000 tons of produce, should go into Lake Ontario, they could continue on down the St. Lawrence as far as Prescott or Ogdensburg, only about 120 miles from Montreal, and then transfer into 2,000- or 3,000-ton barges, to be taken through the Canadian canals to Montreal. All foreign-bound commerce would undoubtedly take this course rather than the route from Oswego to New York, through 320 miles mostly of contracted and dangerous waterway, with its 590 feet of lockage. It is altogether probable, too, that, in this event, Canada would soon enlarge her St. Lawrence canals, so as to permit the Great Lake vessels to run directly to Montreal; and the resultant benefits would in any event be far greater to Montreal than they would be to New York.

While the people of the upper lake region are naturally more or less indifferent as to whether their world markets are reached *via* New York or Montreal, New York cannot afford to be indifferent. She should, therefore, give this matter her serious attention; and if her people see it as I do, they will fight the project of a ship canal *via* Lake Ontario with all their strength. And the most effective way for New York to fight it, and at the same time obtain enormous benefits to herself, is to build a barge canal upon which business can be done so cheaply that there would be no justification for expending large sums for a ship canal.

There is very serious doubt whether the great vessels of the lakes could be induced by any obtainable rates of freight habitually to use a ship canal from the lakes to New York. Not only would the passage involve much time under ordinary circumstances, but the ship would be subjected both to the danger of accidents to herself in the contracted waterway and to serious detention through accidents to other ships. During the last season there were three incidents in the history of transportation on the lakes having a direct and marked

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bearing upon the subject of a ship canal from the lakes to tide water; illustrating as they do one of the serious and inevitable defects of such a highway of commerce.

In its natural condition, the St. Mary's River, which connects lakes Huron and Superior, had extensive shallow reaches. Through these a channel has been excavated 300 to 400 feet wide and twenty feet deep. In the early part of September, 1899, one of the Great Lake freighters—the "Douglas Houghton," ore-laden—through the giving out of some of its steering gear, went aground; and swinging around across the channel, completely blocked it. It took five days of the most arduous and unremitting effort to get this vessel afloat and out of the channel; and, in the meantime, 332 vessels loaded with freight were unable to get by. To those interested this caused a dead loss, estimated, by the Lake Carriers' Association, at nearly $1,000,000.

In the latter part of November, another blockade of the St. Mary's River channel occurred, due to a collision in which three vessels, two steamers and a tow barge, were mixed up and stranded. This caused a delay of nearly four days to some 167 vessels, and involved a loss to the navigation interests of a very large sum, probably not far from $500,000.

In the early part of December, a tow barge went aground in the St. Clair Flats canal; blocking the canal for nearly two days, delaying thirty-five vessels, and causing a heavy loss to the navigation interests. This latter accident, occurring just at the close of the season of navigation, might have produced most serious results by preventing a great many vessels from reaching their destination and home ports.

In spite of all possible precautions, such accidents are liable to happen in a contracted channel traversed by ships of 7,000, 8,000, or 9,000 tons capacity. The longer the channel the greater is the liability to accident; and it is easy to imagine that in a ship canal from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, and from Lake Ontario or the St. Lawrence River to New York, such accidents, blockades, and detentions would be of frequent occurrence, if used by many vessels. Vessel owners and managers would naturally take all these dangers into consideration in determining whether or not to run their boats on such a canal, or in fixing rates of freight for carriage thereon. Of course, accidents and detentions are liable to occur on a small canal also; but, owing to the greater ease with which the smaller boats can be managed, the dangers here are not so marked. Besides, the results of accidents on a small canal are not likely to be so disastrous as those in the case of

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the greater canal, and with the larger boats. It is a much easier and quicker matter to lighter and float a small vessel, carrying a few hundred tons, than it is to do so with a great freighter, carrying several thousand tons. Moreover, it is the belief of many men familiar with matters relating to water transportation, that even if a ship canal were built, its business would be carried on not by the large vessels of the ocean or the lakes, but by barges of 1,000 to 2,000 tons capacity, which could be accommodated almost as well in a smaller, and less expensive, canal.

BARGE CANAL.

Fortunately, there is another form of canal which would serve the people of the upper lake region nearly, and in most instances fully, as well as would the ship canal, and which, at the same time, would be of vast commercial benefit to New York and our whole North Atlantic seaboard. One of the important truths in regard to transportation is, that the cost of carrying freight depends upon the size of the freight carrier. The size of ships on the ocean and the lakes is constantly increasing, in order that the freight may be carried at a lower and lower cost. In view of this circumstance, it is clear that, other things being equal, the larger the boats which the canal can accommodate, the cheaper will be the cost of transportation. But there are other truths regarding transportation that materially modify this view. First, in order to transact the business of freight-carrying in the most economical manner, the vessel must be adapted to the waters on which it moves. One type of vessel is most economical for ocean use, and another is most economical for use on the lakes ; and neither of these could replace the other on its own waters without suffering great disadvantage. The ocean vessel is built with finer lines and deeper draft than the lake vessel ; its machinery is different in many ways ; and its build must be heavier and stronger, to stand the great strain of the ocean storms. Again, the ocean vessel undertakes long voyages, and must be prepared to meet any emergency ; while the voyages of the lake vessel are short, and the ship is seldom more than a few hours distant from a friendly port.

So, too, to produce the most economical results, the vessel which transports freight on a long canal must be suited to the waters which it traverses. Such a vessel is not subjected to pitching and tossing in heavy storms, and can, therefore, be made much lighter and cheaper than boats for the lake or the ocean. Ocean and lake boats have

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boilers and machinery suited to drive them at a speed of twelve to thirty miles per hour, while in creeping through a canal the rate of speed is only from three to four miles per hour. Properly built canal boats have their machinery adapted to these low rates of speed. Next, ocean and lake boats must be heavily manned with highly skilled and expensive employees, to meet the constant changes and dangers. Canal boats have no such contingencies, and do not need such manning. Again, the ordinary cost of an ocean steamer per ton of its carrying capacity is from sixty to seventy dollars; of a lake steamer it is from forty to fifty dollars; while the cost of a self-propelling fleet of canal boats is less than ten dollars per ton, if built of wood, or about twenty dollars if built of steel.

Another matter requiring consideration is, that it is sometimes more advantageous to divide a large amount of freight into several loads than to carry it all in one. This is exemplified in the transportation of coal, by water, along the Atlantic seaboard. The enormous business of transporting some 30,000,000 tons per year is practically all done in barges of 1,000 to 2,000 tons capacity; three or four of them being towed by a tug. It is found to be cheaper, and in other ways preferable, to do the business in this way, instead of transporting the same quantity in a single steamer. There are decided reasons for believing that it would be more convenient and better for commerce to have nearly all Western products arrive in New York in loads of about 1,000 tons, in place of having them arrive in loads of 6,000 to 10,000 tons. Nearly all our exports are shipped as berth cargoes on vessels carrying diversified loads; not more than 10 to 15 per cent being shipped in full cargo lots. A cargo of 8,000 tons arriving in eight different loads could go to eight different ships, and be transferred, as is the custom now, directly into the ship, without its leaving its own berth. The advantages of this are obviously great.

Still another factor which has a very important bearing on the subject is, that it is very desirable that the same highway should serve foreign-bound as well as domestic and local commerce. For all foreign commerce a ship canal *via* Lake Ontario would have its real terminus at Montreal, while the domestic and local commerce would branch off and go to New York and the Mohawk and Hudson valleys. On the other hand, a large canal entirely within our territory leading from Lake Erie to New York, without touching Lake Ontario, would confine its benefits to the United States; serving equally well for-

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eign-bound and domestic commerce, the great local population along its line, and the innumerable industries that it would cause to build up.

All points considered, we cannot fail to conclude, that the correct solution of the canal problem lies in the construction of a barge canal through the State of New York, generally along the line of the Erie Canal, of the largest size consistent with the natural and artificial conditions of the route.

PRESENT ERIE CANAL.

Leaving this large barge canal idea for the moment, let us glance at the existing Erie Canal. When the Erie Canal was first built the boats carried a load of thirty tons; but, the locks permitting, they grew in size to eighty tons. This was the maximum capacity until the canal was enlarged, in 1862, when the prism and locks were fitted for the accommodation of boats of 240 to 250 tons burden. This is the condition of the Erie Canal at present. The principal improvement made in late years has been to double the length of some of the locks, so that two boats could pass at the same time. Practically, the canal is in the same condition as it was thirty-eight years ago, although every other method of transportation has in the meantime vastly improved.

In my opinion, it cannot be doubted that the Erie Canal has done a great deal toward making New York the Empire State, and also toward developing the great Northwest. It has paid in tolls to the State of New York far more than all its canals have ever cost it. Fully $400,000,000 has been paid to the people of the State for freight on goods passing through the canal; and this money has been the instrument to build up and develop the splendid chain of cities from New York to Buffalo, with their varied industries; the cities in turn furnishing home markets to the farmers of the State, and producing the most prosperous agricultural community in the country.

But the Erie Canal as it now exists is far from satisfactory; it is too small; the boats that are able to pass through the locks do not carry enough freight to be economical. The power used on the canal for propelling the boats is still largely animal power. While it is picturesque to see the boats pulled by mules and horses, the sight is at the same time pitiful and absurd, in the light of modern developments. Steam has to a certain extent been introduced on the canal, but the boats are too small to permit of its use with due economical results. It takes just as many men to run a boat carrying 240 tons as it does to run one carrying 1,000 tons. Moreover, the business on the canal

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has never been organized or conducted in accordance with modern methods ; nor can it be, as long as there is a State law prohibiting the use of the canal by any corporation having a capital of over $50,000. This very remarkable law was passed ostensibly in the interest of individual boat-owners, but in reality in the interest of the railroads, which have always been earnest rivals of the canals, and have done all they could to discredit them.

To meet modern requirements and modern competition, the Erie Canal must be improved and enlarged. Otherwise, it might as well be abandoned. Besides, its business methods must be changed, so that they will be in conformity with those of other transportation routes.

How shall the canal be improved? This has been a momentous question in New York for many years. It was answered some years ago, in 1895, by the adoption of measures looking toward an increase in the draft of boats from six to eight feet, and lengthening all the locks so as to increase the carrying capacity of the boats from 240 to 320 tons. Unfortunately, the money voted for the necessary work, $9,000,000, was not half sufficient to complete it ; and the problem is again before the State for solution.

Various propositions have been made. One of them is, that the work started under the $9,000,000 appropriation should be completed at a cost of about $13,000,000. Another is, that this work be completed, and that, in addition, the locks be lengthened and otherwise improved, so that boats of 400 tons burden may be accommodated. This would cost about $15,000,000. A third proposition is, that the locks be further lengthened, and that a part of the line be built on a new and better route, on a route which would permit boats to make better time, and at less expense, the boats to have a capacity of about 450 tons. This would cost about $21,000,000, and, with the canal and boats of the present width, is believed to be the best solution of the canal problem. It certainly represents the least improvement that should be undertaken under any circumstances. Indeed, in the opinion of people who have given the subject most careful study, and who are familiar with present and prospective competitive routes, even such an increase in the size and capacity of the Erie Canal would not be sufficient to insure its highest usefulness. It would not enable it to retain and increase the stream of commerce flowing into, and through, New York, and again take the commanding position which it formerly held in the transportation world. In their minds, the improvement must be a much more radical one. They

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believe that the Erie Canal must be so enlarged as to accommodate boats or barges of 1,000 to 2,000 tons capacity.

Now, how can we best attain this end, and what will the improvement cost? Before these questions can be answered, it will be necessary to decide upon the kind of boat to be used on the canal. The present boat can be increased in capacity by lengthening it, by making it of deeper draft, by widening it, or by an increase in every direction. To determine the point, it is necessary to consider the natural and artificial limitations and conditions of the route.

If the boats should have much draft, they would, if returning empty, stand high out of water, and require much head room under bridges. As there are between 600 and 700 bridges over the canal, many of them in cities and towns, it is evident that this would be a very serious matter, indicating the wisdom of limiting the draft as much as practicable. If the boat be widened, the canal must be widened to correspond. The bottom width must be at least three times the width of the boats, and the surface width from four to six times their width. Quite a large portion of the canal runs through cities and towns and thickly populated country districts; occupying throughout a right-of-way owned by the State. As buildings of all kinds have been erected just outside this right-of-way, any considerable increase in the right-of-way, for the purpose of constructing a wider canal, would be a very expensive affair. This leads to the conclusion that the larger canal should be so limited in size that it can be built, for the most part, in the existing right-of-way, which precludes much additional width. The boats must be limited in length by the curvature of the canal, and by the fact that strength, stability, and economy require that there should be a certain relation between length, width, and height.

The boats running on the present Erie Canal are very well proportioned; and it is believed that the best type of an enlarged boat, which will best meet all conditions on the canal, will be secured by a proportionate increase in all dimensions. The boat which it is believed will solve the problem is one which will be increased in draft from 6 to 10 feet, in width from 17½ to 25 feet, in length from 98 to 150 feet, and in load from 240 to 1,000 tons. As it is proposed to make all locks of sufficient length to accommodate two boats, each lockage would pass 2,000 tons, which may, therefore, be said to be the measure of its capacity. The locks on such a canal would be 310 feet long in the clear, 28 feet wide, and 11 feet in depth. They would be furnished with quick-acting gates. All gates and valves would be

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operated by water or electric power ; and the same power would be used to haul boats quickly into and out of the locks. The prism of the canal would have a depth of twelve feet, so that there would be not less than two feet of water under a fully loaded boat ; and its bottom should be at least seventy-five feet wide ; *i.e.*, three times as wide as the boat. With suitable side slopes, this would make a waterway having a cross-section about four and one-half times the immersed section of a fully loaded boat, the ratio which has been found by experience to be suitable for such a canal.

The proposed route corresponds generally with that traversed by the present Erie Canal. For about two-thirds of the distance from Buffalo to Troy the two routes would practically coincide, and only such changes would be made as would be needed to reduce curvatures and to concentrate lockage. For the other one-third of the distance an entirely new route would be followed.

When the Erie Canal was built, it was necessary to depend entirely on animal power for the propulsion of the boats, so that a tow-path adjacent to the waterway was indispensable. This partially accounts for the fact that from Albany to Buffalo the canal is almost entirely an artificial channel. Practically, no use was made of the Mohawk, Oneida, and Seneca Rivers, which parallel it, because it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain suitable tow-paths, along the river banks, from which to haul the boats. As the days of animal power on the canal are about over, it would be entirely practicable to utilize the wide waterways of the rivers and lakes, between Lake Erie and the Hudson, wherever it should be found advantageous so to do. For about ninety miles, in the middle of the State, the present route would be abandoned ; the one proposed following the Seneca and Oneida Rivers and Oneida Lake. This would take the canal out of Syracuse and give that city Onondaga Lake as a harbor, which it is believed would be a very welcome change for the inhabitants. The new route would also utilize the Mohawk River as a waterway, certainly from Troy up to Schenectady, and possibly much farther.

A peculiar circumstance in connection with the lower Mohawk illustrates the difficulties that the builders of the canal must have experienced in carrying through their project. For 100 miles, from Rome to below Schenectady, the canal runs along the south side of the Mohawk. Near Schenectady, it crosses by means of an expensive masonry aqueduct to the north side of the river, which it follows for

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about fifteen miles, after which it returns to the south side, on another costly aqueduct. It would have been far better if it had remained on the south side all the way. The reason for this double crossing, and apparently bad engineering, is found in the fact that, to secure the legislative action authorizing the canal, the support of Saratoga County was required, and that this could be had only on condition that the canal would be located partially in Saratoga County, which was bounded on the south by the Mohawk River. By utilizing the river itself, the two aqueducts, with the bad, right-angled turns, are excluded.

The principal objects to be gained by utilizing the natural waterways are: (1) to save expense in first construction; (2) to enable boats to run more freely and more swiftly, at less expense; (3) to avoid the leaking incident to most artificial channels; and (4) to obviate the danger of the breaking away of an embankment, permitting all the water to run out of a level, with the result of delaying the boats for days and weeks.

As the cost of the proposed barge canal would be about $60,000,000, it is only natural that those who are called upon to pay this large sum should desire to assure themselves that the benefits to be derived therefrom would be commensurate with the cost. To enter upon the discussion of this question is, however, beyond the scope of my article.

The proposition to expend $60,000,000 on the canals of the State will meet with opposition from many sides; and it is not unlikely that the railroad interests will be among the strongest opponents. But I believe that the people of the State will see that it will well repay them to spend even this large sum of money; for the building of the canal will mean to them that New York will be permitted to maintain her old-time commercial supremacy, and, perhaps, be enabled to enter upon a new era of industrial development far exceeding anything that she has ever before known.

The State is now in a position similar to that of a manufacturer when he finds himself outclassed by a business rival, who takes advantage of the latest inventions and business methods. He is then called upon to choose between dawdling slowly along the road to ruin, on the one hand, and making certain radical changes, even at a great, immediate sacrifice, on the other. As there can be no question in regard to which course such a manufacturer should pursue, so there can be no question as to what the State should do in the present instance.

THOMAS W. SYMONS.

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SOME THINGS WE MAY LEARN FROM EUROPE.

A FEW years ago, a gentleman who held an official position in one of our large States asked permission of the governor to go abroad for two months to study foreign methods in the line of his work. The governor turning toward him with an air of cynical surprise, asked, "Do you think those fellows over there can teach us anything?" The governor who made this remark was born on the continent of Europe; and, strangely enough, many of those who think we have little or nothing to learn from Europe are to be found among our naturalized citizens. Some years ago Matthew Arnold, and before him Sir Lepel Griffin, named several countries in Europe in which life, they said, was much more interesting than in the United States. Since these statements were made, several millions of people from those most favored countries have come to the United States to live; and it is among these self-elected Americans that we find the most ardent defenders of American life and institutions. I have sometimes been amused by the indocility of our naturalized citizens when they go back to visit the old country.

I recall especially the impatient criticisms made by a young German lady who had come to this country when she was about nineteen years of age. She had learned English well in ten years, and had renounced her allegiance to all foreign potentates, especially to the Emperor William II. Going back to Germany to visit her friends for a year, she became so homesick for Boston that she wanted to return in three months. "Everything here in Germany," she said, "is too slow, too old-fashioned." Argument could scarcely convince her that there was anything over there which we might adopt to advantage, unless it were a few more German citizens. At last I tried to awaken her pride of birth by referring to her native tongue. "Well," I said, "you, at any rate, like the German language." "Oh, German," she said, "is so awkward and clumsy; it is so artificial; English is far better for business." "Well," I said, "when you get angry don't you find German more convenient?" "No," she answered, "I can scold a great deal better in English; it has more snap to it." "Well,

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perhaps you like German for love-making?" "No," she persisted, "I think English is much better even for *that*." After this experience I am prepared to believe the story of the German who, after living several years in Boston, went home with his family to live in Germany. Finding that they could get no Boston "beans and brown bread" in that country, life became intolerable, and they returned.

Lowell, in his witty essay, has spoken of "A Certain Condescension in Foreigners." Perhaps it is time that we should cultivate a little condescension ourselves. Everybody knows that Europe has many things to learn from America; but I am persuaded that there are a few things which we may learn from Europe. I have no expectation that half of my readers will agree with me as to what they are. They will be surprised at those I omit as well as at those I mention. This is not only a matter of personal observation, but of personal taste.

Let me begin with those things which first impress the traveller, because they relate largely to his own convenience while abroad. Take the matter of transportation. If there is anything upon which we pride ourselves in this country, it is on the perfection of our railroad facilities. We certainly have much to teach other countries in this respect; have they anything to teach us? The English railway coach is different from our own. You can see in it the evolution from the stage-coach. With habitual conservatism the English wished to keep as much of the old-fashioned coach as they could. So they took off the pole and harnessed a locomotive to the coach; then they coupled a number of coaches together and called it a train. There are doors at the side instead of at the end; and each coach will hold from eight to ten persons.

To be locked up in one of these boxes, excommunicated from your neighbors in the next car, without any opportunity of promenading from one end of the train to the other, an American is apt to regard as a breach of personal privilege. He secures a certain degree of privacy, but it is at the expense of his liberty. Bad as these cars are, they have one great advantage for suburban traffic. Having so many doors they can be emptied almost immediately. Immense crowds of people go in and out of London every day. No sooner does the train stop than the doors swing open; and in a few seconds the whole train-load is upon the platform, and the car is ready to move out. I observe that the managers of the Brooklyn Bridge cars have at last concluded that it is a good idea to put some side doors into their long box cars.

In England and on the continent they have wisely adopted the

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American longitudinal aisle on one side of the car, and by the addition of lavatories have made one of the best long-route trains. One of the finest trains in the world runs from Budapest to Vienna and the north; and there is excellent service from London to Aberdeen. We have good sleepers in America for night travel; what we lack is the day-sleeper. By stuffing your coat between your head and the window pane in an American car you may catch a nap, and you are somewhat better off if you can hire a chair in a car. The European car has the great advantage of a high back for your head and a cushioned corner. By pulling down the arm of the seat you have a good pillow, and by pulling down the hood over the lamp at night you have a comfortable sleeping-car. Our own Pullman cars have one great defect, the overhead racks are inadequate; so that there is no convenient place for hand baggage. The electric light has been introduced to some extent for lighting steam trains abroad. Our Pullmans would be greatly improved if each section were lighted in this way; also the terrible heat which makes them travelling ovens in summer would thus be much reduced.

On the continent a slip of paper takes the place of our baggage check. If the English system does not equal ours, the porters partly atone for it by the mercifully tender way with which they handle "luggage." The American baggage smasher and his ravages are apparently unknown. The English baggage system must be taken in connection with its cab system. It is expected that you will take your luggage away with you on reaching your destination; this has great advantages when you arrive at night. The porters furnish the connecting link between the train and the cab; there is always some one to carry your hand or heavy baggage. The absence of a good cab system in America obliges us to depend upon the express companies, with the trouble that we often have to wait until the next day, and, if arriving Saturday night, sometimes until Monday morning, before we get our baggage.

Not long ago, at a railroad junction in New England, a young lady of diminutive stature was wondering how she could climb from the ground to the lower step of a car. A brakeman saw the difficulty, and, with a gallantry worthy of Sir Walter Raleigh, promptly dropped on one knee. The lady stepped on the other, and easily mounted into the car. What is it that disturbs the old lady travelling in a Pullman car? It is not the fear of an accident when the train is going; her trouble comes when it stops; it is her perilous descent down the

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staircase to the little footstool which the porter has placed at the bottom. In Europe railroad grooms are not necessary to mount ladies into cars, nor is it necessary to have a porter carry a step-ladder under his arm. At every station, even in country places, the platform is nearly on a level with the floor of the car.

In New England, a few years ago, a terrible accident occurred at a grade crossing, under the most pathetic circumstances. It was not the fault of the engineer nor of the driver of the team, and only partly that of the gateman ; it was the fault of the community in permitting such a crossing to exist. The accident was apparently forgotten, until another tragedy occurred at precisely the same place. Such accidents could not happen in England, because grade crossings do not exist. That they continue to happen in this country is because we have not learned, as they have in England, the art of compelling things to be done which the public needs and demands. With our complacent democracy we permit abuses to exist which the English will not stand.

As for urban transportation, our large cities with their electric cars are ahead of London and Paris. The Paris omnibus system always insures a passenger a seat, and, as in London, the vehicles cannot be overcrowded ; but you will frequently reach your destination much more quickly if you walk. Our electric cars are incomparably better for a fixed route ; but for a variable route we have nothing to equal the French or English cab system, or that of Berlin. They are all under the supervision and management of the police ; no extortion is permitted. You go just where you want to go. I was struck, in Paris, with the great convenience of the cab method when attending a presidential reception at the Champs-Élysées. You take a cab to the presidential mansion ; you dismiss it when you get there. When you come out, at the end of the reception, there is a long line of cabs. A coachman is waiting for you ; you do not have to wait for your coachman. You step into the cab immediately in front of you, and off you go. You have not waited thirty seconds. Contrast this with the crowd and confusion on the portico of the White House when thinly clad ladies are waiting fifteen or twenty minutes in a cold blast, till, by means of a megaphone, coachman No. —— may be found.

It looked at one time as if our American tramway system would displace other methods in large European cities ; but the whole aspect of the situation has now been changed by the introduction of the automobile. The horse may now die, but the cab will increase and multi-

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ply. We pride ourselves upon the quickness with which we take up new things, and in inventive genius we may challenge the world; but in this matter of automobiles we have been far outstripped in enterprise by the French. Forty years ago, Richard Dudgeon, an enterprising inventor, built a steam carriage in New York; but horses were superstitious, and the carriage was too heavy and noisy. Now we have to go to Paris to see what has been practicable in this direction. Motor power is applied to bicycles and tricycles to an extent unknown here.

One reason why France is ahead of us in this direction is because we are behind in the matter of roads. England, France, Switzerland, Germany, and Norway are all ahead of us in road-building. Not that we do not know how to do it, but that we have not thought it worth while. The bicycle and the automobile will contribute to our regeneration in this respect, and a great improvement has been made in recent years ; but we need to reform thoroughly our system in the rural districts. The fashion so common in this country of allowing taxpayers to work out their road tax has not proved a success. Men work with little vigor in paying their debts to the community in this way, and the laws are seldom strictly enforced.

The traveller is also interested in getting his letters promptly. At his London hotel there are fifteen deliveries a day. He may drop a card in a post box at eight in the morning, get an answer at noon, and mail a reply which will get to his friend before evening. Within the last three years, whenever the Post-office Bill has come up in the House of Representatives, there has been discussion as to the practicability of the pneumatic dispatch. One might as well discuss the practicability of the telephone. They would smile at such suggestions in London or Paris, where a slight addition to the postage will secure a rapid delivery by pneumatic dispatch. Another great convenience in the postal system abroad is the method of paying money orders. One is not obliged to go half a mile to a branch, or three miles to the central post-office, to get his money. The postman who brings the order brings the money with him. You receipt for it, and that is the end of it.

As to postal savings banks, I am not wholly convinced that it is best for us to adopt them. Not everything that is a success abroad can be transplanted advantageously to our own country. As to the postal telegraph, the weight of argument, if one is considering the advantage to the public, and not to the stockholders, seems to be in favor of government ownership and control. We have not learned this in the United States on land ; we may learn it under water. We shall soon

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have to lay a Pacific cable from San Francisco to Honolulu, Guam, and the Philippines. If we give heed to the whole weight of English experience set forth in a Parliamentary report, that cable will be built and operated by the Government of the United States. Later we may adopt Government control for land lines, but not, let us trust, until our civil service system is more thoroughly developed and applied. The question of State control here is not to be decided by abstract principles of State socialism, which may be totally misleading, but solely by the teaching of experience.

Though the telephone was invented in the United States, one must go to Sweden and Norway to find the cheapest and most generally adopted telephone systems. In Stockholm there is a telephone for every 100 people. It costs less than ten dollars a year. Likewise in Christiania there are frequent public telephone stations, where one may talk for five minutes for two cents. I was told that the cheapening of the telephone had enriched the stockholders instead of impoverishing them.

A source of some annoyance to the American traveller on the continent is the use of the metric system. Unless he has had a scientific education he is hopelessly at sea with metres, centimetres, kilometres, and kilograms; and when he tries to read the temperature by European thermometers he is equally lost. Is all Europe wrong, or are we wrong in the United States and in England? It is nothing, I believe, but our English heritage which prevents us from adopting the metric system. England has the most awkward method of counting money in the world. It may be derived, as Max Muller says, from Assyria, but this constitutes no justification of the system; and in spite of the fact that you can divide it by four, which a member of Parliament assured me was a great privilege, the method is too clumsy for this age. We have wisely abandoned it for the decimal system. There is no reason why we should wait for England to adopt the metric system. Nor need we wait for England to adopt the normal, continental pitch in music. We have happily broken away from English tradition, and it ought not to be long before it would seem as ridiculous to have a piano-maker ask us, "To what pitch will you have your instrument tuned?" as for a salesman to ask us whether we prefer a Fahrenheit, Centigrade, or Réaumur thermometer. In measures, weight, temperature, and pitch we ought to conform to the continental standard.

A traveller cannot be long in London before needing the services of a policeman, either to pilot him across the street or to direct him when

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he has left his map behind. If a vote could be taken by American travellers a shout of gratitude and admiration, especially from the ladies, would go up for the courtesy, intelligence, and efficiency of the London police. Those who were present at the Queen's Jubilee had an opportunity to admire the wonderful ease, tact, dignity, good judgment, and good nature with which the London police handled the enormous crowds.

The traveller gets the impression that this is no accident, but is due to an admirable system of administration; and he is right. After a thorough examination of the whole London police system, with the help of a friend who is an expert in such matters, I am convinced that it is the system that secures and trains and regulates an excellent personnel; and it is the personnel which illustrates the excellence of the system. This is due partly to freedom from all political influence in appointments, and partly to a system of checks by which it is almost impossible for a policeman to yield to bribery and corruption without being detected. The police show remarkable self-restraint in exercising their power and authority; and one reason for this is, that arrests are not stimulated by the wretched system of fees which has prevailed in so many parts of the United States. "We are taught not to interfere too much," said a patrolman; and if an emergency had arisen, I am sure that this brave fellow would not have made the mistake of interfering too little.

The Berlin police are likewise appointed on the merit system; and candidates are put through a thorough course of schooling for six months before they can enter upon active duty. I attended one of these schools, and was surprised at the range of study and the severity of the examinations. To Americans it seems, perhaps, an invasion of personal liberty to be required to give your name, age, occupation, residence, and destination; but in Berlin this method of registration applied to the residents is not only convenient for the police, but is a convenience to the public. About one-third of the population changes its abode every year. The movement is going on continually. A large bureau where residences are recorded serves as a living directory, revised every week; and some 300 people a day, including the letter-carriers, consult it to hunt up people whose addresses have been changed. An American consul in Switzerland told me he had consulted this bureau with great success in trying to find a poor woman who had become heir to property in the United States. But, if Americans want to copy the extreme of personal liberty in withhold-

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ing their identity they must go to England. One is not even asked his name at the hotel; he is simply No. ——, and when his bill is made up, he is designated by his number.

As for detective efficiency, we have a vast deal to learn from the Paris police. A central feature of the system is the Bertillon method of identification. It has been introduced into a few cities and a few prisons in this country; it ought to be universally employed. Let a man be arrested in Lyons or Rouen, his measurements are sent to Paris; and in half an hour it can be told whether he has been arrested before. As a system of anthropometry it ought to be introduced not only in every police system in the United States, but should take the place of the very loose and inaccurate system of identification employed in the army.

The police system naturally suggests the prison system. Prisons are outside of the travellers' usual route, and I have no space in this article to refer to them in detail. But, after an extended examination of European prison systems, I may name four things which we might borrow from them to advantage. The first is in relation to economical and scientific dietaries. Though specialists like Prof. Atwater, Mrs. Ellen C. Richards, and Miss Sarah E. Wentworth have studied the question of the nutritive values of food in this country, the knowledge thus derived has not been applied to any extent to prison dietaries in the United States. One of the best applications of such knowledge has been made by the Scottish Prison Commissioners in a recent report. In this country, dietaries are constructed more or less at haphazard.

A second thing we might adopt more widely is the custom which prevails so generally on the continent of Europe of giving prisoners a portion of their earnings; a part of the allowance being available for the assistance of their families, and a part reserved to aid them when they leave prison. Thirdly, England and the Continent have paid much more attention to the care of discharged convicts than the United States. Where we have one society for that purpose in the United States there are twenty abroad. Especially would I commend the method in use in Switzerland under which convicts are visited some weeks before they leave prison, and patrons are appointed who shall advise and guide them when they are discharged. The schools in Paris for the instruction of prison officers are of great advantage in a centralized system. The fourth point I would note is the freedom of prison administration from political influence.

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Concerning general municipal economy, there are not a few cities in England and on the continent which could give us lessons. No city that I know of on this side can equal London in the general, public determination to have clean streets. Nowhere are people so well trained not to throw things on the pavements. Abundant provision in the way of boxes for the collection of dust, paper, and refuse renders the throwing of rubbish on the street unnecessary. The sanitary conveniences and lavatories for travellers in Paris and London are admirable; in this country they are almost unknown. In the whole matter of economical and effective municipal administration, I suspect we have many things to learn from Europe. In the matter of saving waste and of the safe and profitable disposition of sewage, one of our best sanitary engineers assures me that we can study and adopt, with profit, the results of European experience. The same is true of economy in household management. We have scarcely learned what that is, in this country. The waste that is permitted in a well-to-do American family in a week would serve to keep a French family nearly a month. A gentleman who has investigated the subject of waste in American families describes it as simply appalling.

While we are legislating against trusts, in this country, and all combinations to keep up prices, it is strange that the people have not formed combinations among themselves to reduce prices. In England, though productive coöperation has not been successful, distributive coöperation has long since been accepted as a practical success. Leeds has a society with 40,000 members doing a business of $6,250,000. Fifty years ago, the coöperative movement began in England; now there are some 1,600 societies, with a membership of 1,600,000. The aggregate trade of these societies in 1898 amounted to no less than $327,300,000. Who shall say that distributive coöperation is not a success, and that it might not be carried on successfully in this country? An Edinburgh trader assured me that he could undersell the coöperative stores; but he admitted that they had exerted a remarkable influence in one direction on the working people of England: they had taught them to pay cash for what they buy instead of running in debt for it.

Ruling out lotteries as illegal and pernicious, in which respect Europe has something to learn from us, more seems to have been done there, especially in France, to encourage small investors. There is also ample provision, which scarcely exists in this country, for loaning

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money to the poorer classes at comparatively low rates of interest. This is provided for, notably in France and Italy, by that union of business and philanthropy which is seen in the great Monté di Pietá of Milan, and similar institutions in France. In some places it is under government control; in others, as in Milan, it is operated by a corporation. In Milan it was organized forty years before Columbus discovered America, and to-day some $8,000,000 are invested in various activities. The institution receives more than half a million pledges every year, all but 10 per cent of which are redeemed. I did not discover that this exercises any demoralizing effect on the community.

In American cities poor people sometimes pay interest on chattel mortgages at the rate of 200 per cent per year and more. In Milan they pay 8 or 9 per cent. The provision enables poor people to change something which they do not immediately need for something which they do need, and there is no disgrace about it. A poor man may borrow money and furnish personal security with no more discredit than attaches to the rich banker who does the same thing. Indeed, people who are comparatively well to do often avail themselves of the convenience of this loan establishment, and a Russian nobleman once received $16,000 on the jewels he deposited. Others use these great warehouses for the temporary deposit of articles not needed. Thus a gentleman will pawn his fur overcoat in the summer; it will be wrapped up in camphor and taken care of, and he will redeem it in December. Dr. Greer's church in New York has established such a loan and pawnbroking society, conducted on strictly business principles; and I believe another has been established on a comparatively small scale. As for the dependent classes, we are notably humane in this country; but Mr. William P. Letchworth has just reminded us, in his valuable book on "Care and Treatment of Epileptics," that there are 113,000 epileptics in the United States, and that only five States have established separate institutions for those requiring special care and treatment. "More has been done on the continent, especially in Prussia, where by a law passed in 1891 it was made mandatory upon public authorities to provide institutional care for this afflicted class."

Our system of local government in this country which separates the ship of State into forty-five compartments makes it difficult for us to adopt certain European methods which have obvious advantages. With a uniform civilization and rapid intercommunication we ought

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to have uniform laws. To secure this in the French Republic is comparatively easy ; in the United States it is extremely hard. Some twenty-nine States have appointed commissioners to help bring about such uniformity, and nine national conferences have been held. The organization has already done effective work, but has thus far confined itself to the Civil Code. Though we cannot yet have uniformity in laws and methods in the different States, we can at least secure uniformity and economy in each State by establishing State control for our penal and other public institutions. England and France have both been able to effect this by substituting State control for local administration.

Whether the highly centralized system of education in France should be introduced into American States is a question for experts ; but the French system, costly as it is, has the great advantage of securing a high grade of instruction in the rural districts. I have visited schools in out-of-the-way places in the very centre of France, and have been surprised to find what excellent teachers were conducting these schools. If it be a little rigid to have the same lessons taught in all the schools of France at the same hour of the same day, there is a great gain in paying teachers in the rural districts the same price which they would receive from the State in the cities, as it secures better teachers than otherwise would be possible. The cities, to be sure, pay an additional amount raised independently for their own teachers; but the result of uniform salaries for the same grade of work in the rural districts is, that there is no country school problem in France. Women are paid the same as men for the same grade of work. In Paris, at one of the most prominent public schools, I heard a lady principal give an admirable address at the distribution of prizes. She was the mother of two or three children, and her husband was principal of another public school in Paris. In France, marriage and motherhood are not held to be disqualifications for teaching. Great attention is paid in Switzerland to civic education in the schools. We are beginning to feel the importance of this instruction in American schools.

With regard to electoral and parliamentary methods, the comparison can be made better in a volume than in a paragraph. But one practice which exists in this country, under law and usage, seems to be unpardonably stupid; it is the practice of electing a man to Congress thirteen months before he is to take his seat. By the time he gets there the issue upon which he was elected may have wholly changed

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its aspect; and the question of renominating a member comes up again after he has served but six months in Congress. The fact that our Hall of Representatives at Washington is one-third larger than it ought to be is a physical difficulty which can be corrected; and why should we not adopt the practice, which exists in some European Chambers, of having a desk in front of, and lower than, the speaker's desk from which a member who has the floor can deliver his speech, thus commanding the whole auditorium? As to municipalities, there is no necessity of a second chamber. [Australia has taught us better methods in casting the ballot; and it is possible that New Zealand will be able to point to the practical results of experiments in directions which we have merely discussed.] As for civil service reform, and compulsory insurance as a feature of the merit system, we look to Europe for the best exposition. Other countries have succeeded better in applying business methods to political administration.

Concerning business methods in general, our consuls abroad report that Americans have a great deal to learn from Europe in regard to the introduction of goods into new markets; and from no country have we so much to learn as from Germany. This is of special importance now that China and Siberia furnish a new field for American enterprise, for the products of our brain and soil. The peddler in rural districts has a great advantage over the man who paints his advertisement on a fence and expects his customers to come to him; he has the advantage of showing his goods and talking them up. This is as true of China as of New England or the Black belt; it is not enough to advertise American goods as we advertise them in this country; they must be shown and they must be talked up. A gentleman who is familiar with Siberia assures me that the Germans are making an immense headway, because they learn the language and go into every new settlement with their wares. We must also learn to pack our goods as attractively as goods are packed abroad.

As for art, it goes without saying that we must turn to Europe for our models and our inspiration. It hardly seems to me worth while to dwell upon a point so obvious. What is more pertinent to consider is, can we adopt European methods which will lead to greater development in this country? Let me take one department, that of dramatic art. The old English dramatists are as great as any that Europe has produced, if not greater. Nevertheless, it is a little curious, is it not, that having William Shakespeare as our ancestor, we should be borrowing our best plays to-day from the descendants of Molière? Take

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the three plays which in the last four or five years have most profoundly interested us, and which have had great runs at American theatres. One was "Madame Sans Gêne," the second, "Cyrano de Bergerac," and now Mr. Irving has turned to Sardou for his "Robespierre."

What have American playwrights produced in recent years which in literary character will compare with "Cyrano"? And when I ask some of my dramatic friends what is the matter, they say that we need in this country the endowed theatre as it exists in France; that dramatic art must be held up to rigid standards, and be fostered by schools of dramatic expression and by the reëstablishment of something corresponding to the old stock system. Unfortunately, in this country a large part of the Christian Church has denounced every form of dramatic art, just as it ignored music and forbade dancing. Thus, the Church, instead of contributing to the development of art in morals and morals in art, has forbidden beauty to lend its charm and dramatic art to give power to goodness and truth.

We get our fashions from London and Paris; would it be any improvement to get our manners from the same centres? The keynote of our nationality is democracy. I do not want to change it for any of the graces of servility. Lowell reminded us that we are truly democratic when we can say, not only, "I am as good as you," but "You are as good as I am." We often obtrude the first in this country; are we as certain to emphasize the second? But I scarcely know any country which lives up to Lowell's ideal. If I could find one, I should say that the millennium of brotherhood in that part of the globe had already come.

These suggestions are simply the suggestions of a traveller. That they are superficial is partly because the traveller sees rather the surface than the foundation, and partly, also, because I have seen nothing abroad to disturb my convictions that at bottom and at heart American life and American institutions are sound and true.

S. J. Barrows.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT ZIONISM.

THE aims and objects of the Zionist movement are most clearly shown in the articles of the constitution of the English Zionist Federation. They read as follows :

(*a*) The acquisition of a legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people.

(*b*) The fostering of the national idea in Israel.

(*c*) The supporting of a regular international congress of duly accredited representatives of the Jewish people for the consideration of the condition of Jews in the different countries of their dispersion, and for taking such measures as may be conducive to their general welfare.

(*d*) The supporting of existing colonies, and the founding of new colonies, by placing as many Jews as possible living in Palestine as settlers on the land, and encouraging, guiding, and assisting new settlers anxious to establish colonies, or any handicrafts, industries, or arts in Palestine.

(*e*) The study of Hebrew literature, and the use of Hebrew as a living language.

There was once a time in the history of modern Judaism when, in certain countries, the immediate cares of political and social disabilities had ceased to be acute, and when the Jewish inhabitants of these countries endeavored to obtain similar privileges for their coreligionists in other parts of the world. Hand in hand with this sentimental tendency was the desire to induce the Jews to turn for their livelihood to branches of human activity other than those to which they had become accustomed. For centuries they had been debarred from the sight of the free and open country. Agriculture was almost an unknown word to them, save the reference to it in the Bible. It was felt, and rightly so, that a regeneration of the race lay in the direction of a full and free education, and in fostering the love of nature.

A semi-religious movement on the same lines had for its object the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in the East proper. In the

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forties, the famous blood accusation in Damascus served to bring the late Sir Moses Montefiore and Adolphe Crémieux, who had successfully vindicated the truth, into close relation with the problem of the Jews in the East, and with the conditions under which they vegetated in Palestine. To attempt a remedy was the immediate object of their solicitude, and one may safely say, that with the work of Sir Moses was begun the movement which is now developing in the colonies, and which is to lead to a far more glorious completion through Zionism ; namely, the regeneration of Palestine, and of the Jewish nation in Palestine.

In the East the political conditions have been much more favorable to the Jews than in Christian Europe. While in Christian Europe the Jews have seldom been allowed to hold landed property, in Turkey they have never been forbidden to do so. Moreover, in most countries they were not even permitted to live outside the towns. Sir Moses bought a plot of ground close to Jerusalem, with the intention of inducing some of the younger generation to live upon it. The idea was too new to be received at once with favor ; so that the generous intentions of Sir Moses were frustrated by the ignorance and fanaticism of the inhabitants, who mistook this generous act for an attack on their institutions and their incomes. For centuries collections have been made among the Jews throughout the world for the maintenance of those who in their declining years retire to Palestine to end their days in devoting their time exclusively to the study of the Law and Hebrew literature. Palestine has thus become the centre of a gigantic system of charity ; and, if the experiment of Sir Moses should succeed, the source of the charity would be cut off—*i.e.*, in the opinion of the recipients of the charity, and also in that of the younger generation, who have been brought up in horror of manual labor. This short-sighted policy has retarded, for at least one generation, the self-emancipation of the Palestinian Jews.

Since the efforts of Crémieux, and, indeed, as a result thereof, the French Alliance Israelite has come into existence ; its avowed intention being to defend Israel against accusations such as those which Crémieux and Sir Moses were obliged to refute in Damascus. At the instance of the late Charles Neter, the Alliance bought a plot of ground in Jaffa, and erected the first agricultural school thereon.

I have dwelt at some length on this early stage as it gives us the key to the later developments, and permits us to form a fair estimate of the progress the work has since made. It represents the beginning

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of the attempt to colonize, or rather the first experiment to test the soil of Palestine. Round it many legends had gathered, none so persistent, and none so much believed, however, as the idea that the soil of Palestine, having lain fallow for so many centuries, had become barren, and would not yield any fruit. Put to the practical test, this legend vanished as if touched by a magic wand. This time the wand was the hoe in Jewish hands, in which it had not been seen for many a hundred years.

It must be remembered that all these efforts, made by well-intentioned Jews in Europe, were the result of religious, sentimental emotion ; their only object being to benefit the Jews living in Palestine. It had not yet entered the minds of those taking part in the movement that it could or should apply also to Jews living in Europe, whose disabilities, it was believed, would soon disappear. It was thought that at the end of one generation a complete change would take place in the political conditions of the Jews of Roumania, Austria, and Russia. But things will not always go our way ; and the change has been for the worse, not for the better. It appears that in the complex of ideas which is marking the close of this century, there is no place left for the Jew, that he is even losing the one he held in the old fabric of society.

We are now entering upon the second stage of our development. The primitive attempts of Sir Moses and of the Alliance are expanding into the principle of colonization ; *i.e.*, of settling in Palestine those who come there from countries where the pressure has begun to be intolerable. It is the intention of Zionists to free these people from the bane of beggary in the towns, to enable them to till the soil and live by the work of their hands. The first to feel this pressure were the Jews in more backward countries, such as Roumania and Russia. In both these countries hopes for a better future had been destroyed. The freedom which the Roumanians gained after the Russo-Turkish war was at once utilized to deprive the Jews of the liberties they had previously enjoyed. In Russia, the pale of settlement, a huge Ghetto, was established, and the millions of Jews scattered through that vast empire were squeezed into a narrow space. The economic conditions following upon this compression, and the cutting off, one by one, of every honest means of livelihood, tended still further to degrade the Jews of these countries. The Jews of Roumania keenly realized their unfortunate position. The example of the new-born states, Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, to the establishment of which they had

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personally contributed, by serving in the Russian and Roumanian armies, was not lost on them.

Thus began in the eighties a general movement of emigration. One stream set its face westward, and reached the west of Europe and the shores of the Atlantic ; the other turned eastward, toward Palestine. The benign reign of the Turks which the Jews had experienced for centuries in the Danubian principalities contrasted favorably with the growing spirit of hatred and persecution among their new masters. Moreover, a profound religious and national sentiment was forming. Why should not the Jews be able to accomplish what other small nationalities had done? It was a natural question, and quite in keeping with the spirit of the time. Thus began the silent reconquest of Palestine.

The attention of the philanthropic societies in western Europe was soon drawn to this migration east and west. The Jewry of the West now found itself confronted with a problem that brooked no delay. Advice lavished upon these unfortunate Jews to stay at home and bear their tortures with patient endurance was now a thing of the past. They had to bestir themselves. Money was collected ; the English and American Jews standing in the forefront through the munificence of their gifts and through the work they attempted to accomplish. Men like the late Baron de Hirsch were moved to attempt a rescue. Thus far the results have not been commensurate with the efforts. In one point, curiously enough, all these western philanthropists, with one notable exception, joined hands ; namely, in discouraging immigration to Palestine. The exception was Baron Edmund de Rothschild, of Paris, who may now be styled the father and protector of Jewish colonization in Palestine. The Roumanian Jews had already been warned against the scheme by their well-wishers of the West. But they turned a deaf ear to this unsolicited advice. Sir Laurence Oliphant now came to their rescue. He patiently watched the growth of the Colony Samarin, the first to be founded by the Jews from Roumania ; and he assisted and encouraged them in a manner not easily to be forgotten. Meanwhile, the distress in Russia and Roumania continued to increase, and the necessity for help grew correspondingly.

As soon as it was found that the evil forebodings were not borne out by facts, and as soon as it was recognized that by assisting in the immigration to Palestine not only would a religious sentiment be satisfied, but the pressure of immigrants to the West would be diminished,

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the Society of Choveve Zion (the "Lovers of Zion"), first founded in Russia and Roumania, also came into existence in Germany. Its avowed object is merely to foster colonization, pure and simple. While it retains the philanthropic and charitable character, its purpose is simply to assist "the others"; it does not propose identification with them, their hopes and aspirations, in any way or manner. It does not participate in religious or political dreams of seeing themselves once more a free people in the land of their fathers. It encourages none of these "pernicious doctrines," though they were proclaimed by the very first Roumanian settlers in Palestine. The hallucinations of universal, social, and political equality and liberty have held the Jews in a thraldom from which recent events may awaken them.

We have now reached the third stage, the latest development of the colonization scheme. First limited to the Jews of Palestine, then applied to Jews of Roumania and Russia, it is now to be applied to the whole Jewish race. Underlying it is the *national* idea, the idea that whatever political complexion the Jew may bear in his own country, he still belongs to a higher historical unity, testified by unity of language and faith. The new effort is no longer limited to the establishment of colonies for the poor wretches from Russia and Roumania, but for the Jews of all lands; so that all Jews may feel that they have a home to welcome them. This was the message which Zionism brought, and it spread like wildfire. It was first pronounced, though not clearly, by Dr. Theodor Herzl, in a pamphlet, which at first passed almost unnoticed. It was called "Der Judenstaat" ("The Jewish State"). In it Dr. Herzl developed the idea of a state founded for the purpose of permitting Jews to escape from the new social miseries which were growing day by day, and sketched an entire plan for its future administration. The pamphlet is full of crudities; and, as it does not lay stress exclusively on Palestine, it lacks an essential element. Where the Jewish state was to be established was a matter of minor consideration to the author.

His programme has never been accepted by Zionists as the expression of their own aims. It is absolutely necessary to reaffirm this fact; for the confusion of Dr. Herzl's pamphlet with the true programme of Zionism is accountable for much of the controversy to which this movement has given rise. We have only one object: to see the Jewish nation settled in Palestine. There is no substitute for it. Colonies, wherever established, if they tend to alleviate misery

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or to help the people to a better life, are assured of our sympathy ; but in colonies hitherto established there has been too much of the weakening philanthropy. They have lacked the element of self-reliance ; there has been no ideal to support the men in their struggles ; nor has there been any great aim beyond that of a good harvest and money-making. We look upon the Zionist movement as the means of advancing a moral and physical regeneration of the masses, of reknitting the bonds of brotherhood in Israel. Herein lies the fundamental difference between the new movement and the older Choveve Zion societies, which now prove to be a stumbling-block in the way of Zionism. However wide of the mark Dr. Herzl's programme may have been, the Jewish masses, nevertheless, waxed enthusiastic over the man, who had stepped out of the *fin de siècle* civilization to make the people's cause his own. He found willing hearts and active brains to collaborate.

The first appeal to the people brought into relief a strange medley of opponents. Strangest of all was the opposition offered by a circle of rabbis living in Germany ; and these were soon joined by the principal rabbis of the German communities in England. These people made the fatal blunder of failing to explain the difference between nationality and citizenship. They contended that the proclamation of the Jewish nationality lent color to the accusations of the Anti-Semites ; thus placing a weapon in the hands of the latter with which to curtail even the few liberties that the Jews were still enjoying in central and western Europe. That they are mistaken in their views is self-evident ; for no one suggests that the Jews shall abandon the rights and privileges which they enjoy in the countries where they are fully recognized citizens. No one expects all the Jews scattered throughout the world to owe allegiance to any future free, Jewish state. And, as Zionists, we protest against any interpretation to the contrary being placed upon our actions and aspirations. In the face of this opposition, a congress—the first—was held in Basel, in August, 1897. Dr. Nordau had joined the movement at its inception, and I did so in the winter of 1896, at the time Dr. Herzl came to London to expound his views in public—views materially differing from those expressed in his "Judenstaat." The congress was most enthusiastic ; and it was during that meeting, and at no other time, that the constitutional foundations were laid for the movement which we call Zionism. We feel ourselves bound only by the first two articles of the constitution of the English Zionist Federation.

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We look upon as a primary consideration, the acquisition of a legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine. As far as we can see, no country will welcome the influx of millions of destitute, foreign men and women. An outlet must be found for that seething mass of humanity whose life-blood is drained drop by drop; and the only possible outlet is Palestine. The physical conditions of the country answer all the requirements; and it is the only place where Jewish colonies may be said to flourish and to justify the most sanguine expectations. The area is vast, and it is fertile enough even now to satisfy the wants of millions, although the total number of inhabitants does not at present exceed 250,000, of whom more than a third are Jews.

The drawbacks to colonization pure and simple did not become manifest until colonization was started on a rather large scale in Palestine. Although the laws of Turkey have been liberal, and although the Jews have never been persecuted to any extent in the Turkish Empire, nevertheless, "friends" have not been wanting to frighten the Porte, and to draw the attention of the authorities to the danger that might possibly accrue to the government through a future Jewish question in Palestine. Consequently, restrictions were placed upon wholesale immigration, which, though relinquished for a time, have often been enforced with great severity; entailing unnecessary hardships on newcomers, and making the purchase of land extremely difficult.

Nor has too much tenderness been shown to the actual colonists. The law is good, but the administration of the law in Turkey is anything but perfect. In consequence of these difficulties, the colonization of Palestine by Jews has not proceeded on pleasant lines. In fact, it has continued on so small a scale that it must be still looked upon as an experiment rather than in the light of a great undertaking. All the Choveve Zion societies combined have not been able to settle out of their own numbers, on the soil of Palestine, more than from 100 to 200 families. The bulk of the work has been carried on by Baron Edmund de Rothschild, who has sunk at least $5,000,000 into it. As yet the property of the colonists is not absolutely secure; and the future is very much a matter of arbitrary good-will, a thing upon which no nation can safely depend. For this reason the words "legally safeguarded" constitute an essential element. Without such security Palestine can never become a true home for the nation.

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The next aim, therefore, is to obtain a kind of local autonomy for the Jews settled in a certain part of the country. It is immaterial whether this be gained in the form of a charter or in that of a concession. The absolute, internal freedom of administration is the fundamental feature of the demand put forward in the name of Zionism. We do not wish to obtain more rights than those possessed by any of the States that form a part of the United States of America. In that limited sense, a state is something quite different from the idea of a state with which our opponents have been crediting us. In fact, we wish even less rights than those enjoyed by one of the States in the Union ; for we do not even desire a Jewish militia. We do not ask for more than a police force capable of keeping order within the prescribed limits of territory. Opposition directed against the "political" character of the movement, in so far as a future state is involved, is, therefore, on the face of it, captious. Whatever opposition there may be, the fact remains that the movement is steadily progressing, both in the direction of disarming honest criticism, and in so far as the number of adherents is increasing.

Although the number of adherents to Zionism is difficult to estimate, it may be said that the outward signs are exceedingly satisfactory. Not only does every country now boast of a number of societies, but there is scarcely any country which has not a "federation" of such societies—a proof of the surprising growth of the Zionist movement, and of the hold it has taken upon the masses. And this success is the more remarkable as it has been achieved in the face of an influential, and often unscrupulous, opposition. The good offices of the Great Powers will be required to assure Turkey of our absolutely pacific intentions. It is a public secret that the German Emperor, with his keen political insight, and with his delight in the romantic, has become more than a friendly observer of the movement, and that, under given circumstances, he would lend it his assistance. Other men in ruling positions view Zionism with favor. Even in the highest spheres of Turkey, the fears and doubts are vanishing.

As to organization, the duty of carrying the programme into effect lies primarily in the hands of a Central Committee, whose executive has its seat in Vienna, and at the head of which stands Dr. Herzl. The members of the Committee are elected from the Zionists throughout the world ; the number of representatives from each country being determined by the number of Zionists which that country contains. In the election of delegates women have a right to vote.

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The executive in Vienna is in constant communication with the members of the foreign organizations. Each member is obliged to pay one shilling toward the central fund, which stands exclusively at the disposal of the Central Committee. One shilling is the minimum contribution for a member a year, and the payment of this sum entitles him to elect delegates to the annual congress in Basel; but most of the members contribute a great deal more than the minimum fee, to be used in numerous ways. Meetings are frequently held by the local societies in all countries where such meetings are not prohibited by law; and in Vienna there is a Zionist weekly, "Die Welt," which has become the recognized organ of the movement.

The delegates have now met three times in Basel. The delegates themselves represent, intellectually, spiritually, and from other standpoints, the best element to be found in Judaism. With one notable exception, however, there is not a single millionaire among them. These facts speak volumes as to whom Zionism has touched, and as to which sentiments and aspirations have found expression in it.

That, in spite of the vast preponderance of theorists among Zionists, the scheme is a practical one is shown by the fact that one of the results of the second Basel Congress has been the establishment of a bank in London, known as "The Jewish Colonial Trust." As the wealthy, Jewish financiers left it severely alone, it was started as the poor man's bank, by the issuance of 2,000,000 of one-pound shares. The results thus far have shown how widespread are the Zionistic sympathies; for more than 100,000 subscribers have been registered at the bank. Subscriptions have been received from every place on earth where Jews are to be found, including Siberia, Argentina, Palestine, and Dawson City. The subscriptions at the time of writing already amount to £250,000; and as soon as this sum has been collected in London operations will begin in Palestine. The money may be utilized for any lawful purpose intended to further the interests of Zionism; and the bank will offer the necessary guarantees, in hard cash, for the concessions to be obtained from the Turkish Government.

Among the means of carrying out the programme of Zionism may be mentioned, then, organization among the Jews, propaganda by word of mouth and through a constantly increasing number of journals, special literature, local meetings, the congress in Basel and the wide distribution of its proceedings. The next step will lie in enlisting the sympathies of the Christian world for a work so grand, and at the same time so important, economically, for the various countries

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themselves. The results obtained in three years, in all directions, are unprecedented.

In conclusion, I wish once more to dispel the notion—I am now speaking for myself—that the leaders have in mind the actual settlement of immigrants on the soil of Palestine. This, I must emphatically declare, lies outside the sphere of our activity, and goes far beyond our means. Neither two nor twenty millions of pounds would enable us to purchase the land or defray the expenses needed for the establishment of colonies on any large scale. We merely wish to open the gates far enough to allow a large number to enter. People who expect Zionism to be the means of ridding Europe of the Jewish pauper element, or of converting Palestine into a dumping ground for the Ghetto, will find themselves sorely mistaken. We simply have in mind that Palestine shall no longer be a vast asylum or a huge hospital, for the broken-down and decrepit, but hope that it may become a place where the brain and the muscle shall have free scope to develop.

A new life shall spring up in the old soil of Palestine. The small leaven of Hellenism which was thrown two thousand years ago into the Semitic world has produced the greatest change in the religious conceptions of mankind. What would be the result if the accumulated knowledge of the West should be brought back to Palestine, there to work again as a leaven, but upon a new life, starting with different ideals? What great revolution for mankind has this movement still in store? Lying at the very point where three continents meet, no one can conjecture what a rejuvenated Palestine could do toward the revival of the East, its commerce and its civilization.

The ball has been set rolling; nothing will ever stop it. It may be checked for a while, but the history of Zionism during the last fifty years has shown unmistakably that it is a forward movement. Beginning in the form of a charitable work for Palestinian Jews, it soon expanded into the colonization of Palestine with Jews from other countries; and it now seems to be becoming the aim of the whole race of Israel to found a permanent home in Palestine. Started by a few philanthropists of a small section of the globe, it has now become a great national movement, resting firmly upon the masses. It will henceforth be an abiding factor in the destinies of Judaism; and it is sure to lead to one of the grandest episodes in the evolution of mankind. For "the Law shall again go forth from Zion and the Word of God from Jerusalem."

M. GASTER.

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THE NEED FOR ADVANCED COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

THE expansion of the United States into the tropics has given a new importance to the question of commercial education. It indicates that we are on the eve of important changes in both the political and the commercial world, and also that the struggle for the control of new markets is becoming sharp. The tropics are the only regions whose products are not well developed, and in which competition has not reduced the margin of profits toward the vanishing point. It is true of the tropics more than of any other part of the world, that its trade depends upon a knowledge of the conditions of life and of the habits of people who are beyond likelihood of immediate change. The rest of the world is so closely united that articles in demand in one land are likely to be desirable in all. This is not true of the tropics or of the Orient. Their long isolation from the rest of the world and their ancient and unchanging forms of society have fixed the needs of life within certain lines, causing successful trade to depend upon exact knowledge of local habits. As a consequence, there is need not only of a thorough understanding of the laws of trade and of the ways of doing business which are of universal application, but also of that particular and technical knowledge which will enable a merchant to undertake particular lines of trade with special countries, without liability of destructive mistake. This need, which the recent exploitation of tropical lands for commercial purposes has only served to emphasize, has for half a century been recognized in European countries, which found themselves distanced in commercial pursuits, or called upon by the exigencies of their national life to enter upon new ways. It has resulted in the planting of certain schools for commercial education of the higher grade, which have already become distinguished, and in the establishing of some systems of commercial education, which are new and important.

The movement has so far attracted attention in this country that the Universities of Pennsylvania, California, and Chicago, as well as Columbia University, have inaugurated or announced special

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courses of instruction in this direction ; but it has gained so little genuine recognition, that even these courses seem to be established rather for the benefit of the local institution than because of any conviction on the part of the principals in the matter that the need is a permanent one. Indeed, in a recent article in the "Independent," President Thwing, of the Western Reserve University, writes somewhat deprecatingly of the movement ; implying that a good education in law is perhaps the best special training to which a merchant can subject himself, outside of the counting house, and that what is known among us as the ordinary business college is sufficient for present needs. This opinion rests upon a complete misapprehension of the real situation, and the failure to understand what other countries with whom we are to compete are already doing. It is not a question as to what constitutes the quickest way in which young lads who are obliged to support themselves can enter successfully into a business career ; this question, in the minds of some, being sufficiently answered by the business college. It is a far larger question, and demands a much more thorough and scientific solution. The situation is by no means one in which the slipshod method of "something just as good" will serve. The rapid development of the business life of our country and the wide diffusion of wealth in the business world, have brought into the field a large number of young men destined to become the successors of their fathers, who have developed large and successful enterprises out of the exceptional conditions which hitherto have obtained with us. The question now is, How can this large number of favored young men most successfully fit themselves, not only for the local administration of business, but for the wider competition in the markets of the world, and to take charge of some of the largest trusts that have ever been known?

The day of the rule-of-thumb has gone by in business no less than in mechanics. It is only the man of science, trained in the technical school of the highest grade, who, in every department of industry—the mine, the laboratory, the electrical plant, or the steam railway —finds his opportunity and is imperatively needed. It cannot be that other conditions will be permanently maintained in the business world. The merchant who, through years of labor and intelligent industry, has built up a great commercial house cannot see his successful neighbor, the manufacturer, send his son to the technical school, and then to other lands for a year or two of study of manufactories similar to his own, without feeling grave anxiety for his

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own business, unless he furnishes his son with a similar intellectual equipment.

Recognizing this need, the ancient Merchants' Guild of Leipzig established, more than fifty years ago, its Commercial Institute, which has long been the model for similar institutions in Germany. At last report it had no less than 700 pupils. To-day, there are in Germany fifty-five high commercial schools, with 6,000 pupils; in Austria there are thirteen, with 3,000 pupils; in France there are seven, besides many schools of a lower grade. The movement began in Austria in 1857, with an association composed of 560 merchants of Vienna, and a subscription fund of 530,000 florins. In thirty years this school reported having had 17,000 students, and having graduated more than 5,000. Its graduates are in great demand in commercial houses. It early instituted the custom of travelling scholarships, by which it sends out those of its young men who have had a certain practical experience, to make a careful study of foreign centres of trade. There are forty of these scholarships; and their possessors are to be found in all the important trade centres with which Austria is connected. The course covers three years, and embraces the following subjects: three modern languages; commercial geography, including a knowledge of the products, population, history, trade, and means of communication, of different lands; mathematics, including commercial arithmetic, with computation in the currencies of all countries, and the various methods used in accounts of every form; physics; chemistry; commercial law; the laws of international commerce and transportation; political economy; and much actual practice in business methods. The Superior School of Commerce in Paris has a staff of some seventy men, with an annual outlay of 230,000 francs; and the School of Higher Commercial Studies, designed especially for training the sons of merchants, occupies splendid buildings on the Boulevard Malesherbes, and has a course of three years, with a faculty of forty-four instructors. While it admits pupils who have had only secondary instruction, it is designed especially for college graduates. Its curriculum covers a vast variety of subjects, the aim being to supply a very broad theoretical training, together with exact and definite instruction in methods in actual use.

The purpose of these schools is thus defined in an address issued in 1856 by the Commercial Council of Prague:

"At first, commercial institutions belonged in the same category with technical institutions, in so far as the common principles of both have been to promote our

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material development; but, fundamentally, they are distinguished from them. In the case of the earlier institution, it is the method of natural science training by which the technical training is accomplished. In the case of the other, on the contrary, the theory which runs through the curriculum, coördinating and uniting its various parts, is not higher mathematics, not natural science, but that thorough and general culture which includes the application of social knowledge to experience, which relates to a knowledge of the earth and of the economic nature of its inhabitants, with special reference to one's native country. Justification of these schools is to be found in the necessity for the higher scientific training of the merchant. This appears more and more imperative every day, as this alone qualifies him to work with such foresight and certainty as are rendered necessary by the advance of our social relations."

The course of instruction which the high commercial school should pursue has received much attention in these foreign schools. Pupils are to be taught to become good employés—good buyers, good sellers, good cashiers, good accountants. But the art of buying and selling and of recording these operations does not constitute the whole science of commerce, nor would it insure the success of any enterprise. The art of organizing, administering, and directing is fundamental, and must be based on economic science. The programmes of the higher schools are intended to embrace courses upon the various kinds of industries, and upon the commercial qualifications determining the capability necessary for the various enterprises. Among them may be mentioned the establishment and conduct of business, the laws of commerce, raw materials, markets, workmanship, general cost, commercial and industrial action and administration, accounting, the exact determination of the selling price, credit, corporations, liquidation, the duties of the employé, etc., etc. Added to these are advanced courses, laid out with the same minuteness and care, in mathematics, industrial and commercial geography, transportation, tariffs, history, political economy, foreign languages, the art of public address, and so on.

In view of all this, it is not surprising that German merchants should be found coming to the front in many Oriental markets, or that foreign governments are in some instances selecting their consuls exclusively from graduates of these schools. The director of the Leipzig school, in a recent report, makes the following statement: "The extraordinary ability of the young German merchant, who is coming to be recognized in foreign countries—though in many cases with great unwillingness and with considerable envy—is no result of routine work. It is the consequence of careful and thorough training of our young people. The nation whose commercial relations are ex-

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tending throughout all continents, whose mercantile and naval marine is well equipped for the very best service, whose banner waves over many continents, needs merchants of intelligence, financiers of wisdom, and inventive and enterprising organizers."

This being the model which is adopted by the countries with whom we shall have to compete, and the standard of the higher education of the business world among the most civilized communities, it may be accepted as indicating the kind of education which in the near future will be demanded for our most ambitious young business men. Similar courses will be provided in this country when the demand for them is realized. That demand will first appear in the minds of the young people who are influenced by the thoughtful principals of the secondary schools. As the boys begin to inquire of them what special courses are best adapted to fit them for their subsequent careers, it will be the privilege of these intelligent counsellors to point out to their pupils the new demand for education of this kind, and the new opportunities which are opening for those who will be found to possess it. The American community may be trusted promptly to supply that for which it has come to feel the need. And those universities that first recognize this need, and seriously and amply provide for it, will have a great advantage over all their rivals. In view of the many burdens which are forced upon our growing universities, it is quite possible that commercial centres will find it necessary to provide such schools for themselves, as they have widely done in Europe. That the demand is already appearing, and that this special commercial training will soon be regarded as an essential in business life, is already clear.

Quite beyond its mere economic value, when its advantages are understood, ambitious business men will demand for themselves and their associates the privilege of living in the spacious air which now is looked upon as the special prerogative of the men of the professions, and of those who with broad and definite courses of study have been fitted for their life work.

HENRY A. STIMSON.

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LITERATURE AS A PROFESSION.[1]

THE best basis for a profitable discussion is nearly always to be found in an early agreement in regard to the exact meaning of the words we intend to use; and in any inquiry into literature as a profession we had better begin by trying to find out just what meaning we wish to give to each of the words thus united. To define a *profession* is easy. A profession is the calling or occupation which one professes to follow and by which one gets one's living. To define *literature* is not easy; for the word is a chameleon, meaning all things to all men, calling for one interpretation to-day and for another to-morrow. But with the aid of the dictionary we may hit on a rough-and-ready definition not unfit for our present needs. Literature, then, is the communication of facts, ideas, and emotions by means of books. If we combine these definitions we see that the profession of literature is the calling of those who support themselves by the communication of facts, ideas, and emotions through the medium of books.

No searching examination guards the entrance to the profession of literature, and no special diploma is demanded of those who wish to practise it. Unlike medicine and the law, literature seems to call for no particular schooling. Apparently, the possession of pen and ink and paper is enough; and the practitioner is then free to communicate by means of books whatever facts, ideas, and emotions he may happen to have stored within him ready for distribution to the world at large. Every one of us is more or less trained in speaking—which is the earliest of the arts of expression, as writing is one of the later; and to do with the hand what we are accustomed to do with the tongue seems as if it ought not to be a feat of exceeding difficulty. Perhaps this apparent ease of accomplishment is one of the reasons why literature has only recently got itself recognized as a profession. Congreve and Horace Walpole and Byron all affected to look down on the writings by which alone they are remembered to-day.

[1] An address delivered before the Federation of Graduate Clubs, at Columbia University, December 28, 1899.

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Even now the boundaries of the profession of literature are not a little vague. Is a college professor a man of letters? Is a lecturer? Is an editor? And, more particularly, is a journalist a literary man? Any one who is thrown much with young men about to make the choice of a calling is aware that much confusion exists in their minds between literature and journalism; and they will talk of "going into literature" when what they really propose to do is to get on a newspaper. Even when they do perceive some difference between literature and journalism, they are inclined to hold that, although it may be journalism to write for a daily or a weekly paper, yet to write for a monthly magazine is "to contribute to literature." But it ought to be obvious that this is a distinction without a difference, and altogether misleading. The articles dealing with temporary themes so frequently found in the monthlies are frankly journalistic in their intent; and as emphatically literary are certain memorable poems first printed in the dailies—Drake's "American Flag," for instance, originally published in the "New York Evening Post," Holmes's "Old Ironsides," sent to the "Boston Advertiser," and Kipling's "Recessional," written for the London "Times." And just as these genuine contributions to literature appeared first in newspapers, so mere journalism very often nowadays gets itself bound into books—the war correspondent's letters from the front, for example, and the descriptive reporting that enlivens our magazines.

Far deeper than any classification of periodicals—the daily and the weekly in a lower group and the monthly in a higher—is the real distinction between literature and journalism. The distinction is one of aim and of intent; and there is a total difference of temper and of attitude. The object of journalism is almost the opposite of the object of literature; and the two arts are in reality incompatible and almost hostile, the one to the other. The work of the journalist, as such, is for the day only; the work of the man of letters, as such, is for all time. Now and again, no doubt, what the journalist does survives longer than its allotted twenty-four hours; and, more often than not, what the man of letters does fails of immortality. But none the less was the one done in the full consciousness that it was ephemeral, and the other in the high hope that it might be eternal.

In so far as the journalist is a leader of public opinion, he seeks to accomplish his immediate purpose by arousing and by convincing his readers until they are ready to do as he bids them. His chief weapon is iteration. He says what he has to say again and again and again,

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varying his form from day to day, indeed, but repeating himself unhesitatingly and of necessity. He keeps on hammering until he drives his nail home ; and then he picks up another nail, to be driven home in its turn by another series of incessant blows. In one article he touches only one side of the case, reserving the other aspects for the other articles that he knows he will have to write. He lives in an atmosphere of controversy, and breathes freely as though it were his native air.

He plans no element of permanence in his work, and, indeed, never allows himself to think of such a thing. As the origin of the word journalism implies, the journalist seeks only to be sufficient unto the day—no more and no less. The result of his labor is to be sought in a movement of public opinion, having its record, perhaps, on the statute book of the State and even in the history of the whole country ; but his work itself has perished. Horace Greeley is the most famous of all American journalists, and his was a daring and a trenchant style. But whatever may have been his share in bringing about the abolition of negro slavery, not one of his assaults on the slaveholders survived to be read by the generation that followed his—a generation to whom Greeley was but a name and a legend. It is the essential condition of the best newspaper writing that its interest should be temporary; and no sooner has the journalist done his work than he must expect to see it sink into the swift oblivion of the back-number.

The man of letters is almost the exact antithesis of the newspaper man. He seeks above all things to express himself—to give form to a something within him that is striving to be born, to body forth his own vision of life, to record once for all his own understanding of the universe. He toils joyfully, without haste and without rest, never quitting his work till he has done his best by it, until at last he knows it to be as perfect as he can make it, however dissatisfied he may remain with his final achievement. The object of his effort may seem but a trifle—a little lyric or the briefest of short-stories ; yet he never relaxes his standard, believing that the Tanagra figurines called for as keen a conscience in the artist as the Attic marbles themselves. Though he may work swiftly when the mood is on him and the Muse inspires, he is never in a hurry. And where the journalist writes every night what must be forgotten before the next new moon, the man of letters may keep to himself what he has done, even for seven years, as Horace advised ; and in all that time again and again he may bestow on it ungrudgingly the loving labor of the file.

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Thus we see that journalism is a craft while literature is an art; and that the two callings are almost irreconcilable. The practice of one of them tends to unfit a man for the practice of the other. There are journalists, not a few, who have become men of letters, and there are men of letters who have gone on newspapers; but I cannot recall the name of any man who won equal fame in both vocations. Bryant was a poet who was also the chief editorial writer of a daily newspaper; and one of his biographers tells us how careful Bryant was to do all his journalistic writing in the office of the paper itself, leaving his own home free from any taint of contemporary pressure. And there is an anecdote of Bryant that illuminates the conditions of journalism. A friend repeatedly urged him to advocate a certain cause, and supplied him with facts and arguments in its behalf. Finally, an article appeared, and Bryant asked his friend if it was not satisfactory—if it was not good? The friend responded at once that the article was too good altogether, too complete, too final, since Bryant had said in it all he had to say on the subject, and, therefore, would not recur to it again, whereas what his friend had wanted was, that the editor should take up the case and keep on writing about it, day in and day out, until he had really aroused public interest in it.

In other words, iteration is an absolute necessity in a newspaper, if it wishes to guide public opinion. But iteration in literature is almost a form of tautology. For example, now that we have Matthew Arnold's essays collected in a stately series of volumes, we can hardly help being a little annoyed by the repetition of his various catchwords, although these were strikingly effective when the original articles were appearing, now in a monthly magazine, and now in a quarterly review. We feel that something perishable has been obtruded into what we had supposed to be permanent; and we see that even so accomplished an artist in words as Arnold mars the abiding beauty of his literature when he seeks an immediate effect by journalistic means.

And as journalism is not literature, neither is editing. An editor, like a journalist, may or may not be a man of letters; but there is no need that he should be. There is no reason to suppose that a man of letters can edit, any more than there is to suppose that he can write for a newspaper. To edit a periodical, daily or weekly, monthly or quarterly, is a special art, calling for special qualifications having no relation whatever to the special qualifications which the literary artist must have. Some literary artists have been endowed with the

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double equipment, but not many. Poe was apparently one of the few men of letters who are also born with the editorial faculty ; and it is related that whenever he took charge of a magazine its circulation soon increased. Dickens also was successful as an editor, whereas Thackeray showed no remarkable aptitude, and soon gave up the uncongenial task. Although their fame as authors must have aided them as editors, what Poe accomplished with the "Southern Literary Messenger," and Dickens with "All the Year Round," is to be credited to their editorial faculty, and not to their literary ability.

There is an analogy between the executive ability needed by the editor of a magazine and that required by the manager of a theatre. The special qualification of the dramatist the manager is not compelled to possess, any more than the dramatist is required to have the special qualification of the manager. He may have it or he may not, as it may chance. Molière was brilliantly prosperous in the direction of his own company ; but Sheridan lacked what was necessary for the successful conduct of Drury Lane.

Just as men of letters may be editors or journalists, so they may also be lecturers or college professors. Emerson and Thoreau were lecturers ; Longfellow and Lowell were college professors. But it calls for no argument here to show that lecturing is wholly apart from the main purpose of the literary artist, and that it is not the prime function of the man of letters to impart instruction. Very few of the lecturers under the old lyceum system were men of letters ; and in our universities now very few of the professors of the various literatures are literary artists. Nor is there any need that they should be, since the duty of the literary artist and the duty of the college professor are not at all the same.

If the man of letters is not a journalist nor an editor, not a lecturer nor a college professor, what is he? By the definition with which this paper began, he is one who supports himself by the communication of facts, ideas, and emotions through the medium of books. But if we insist strictly on this definition, we shall soon discover that there are very few who follow literature exclusively. Often literature is seen to be a by-product of other professions. Literature, pure and simple, rarely rewards its followers with enough to live on ; and the most of them are forced to look to another calling for their bread, even if they can rely on literature for their butter. It is but a divided allegiance they can give to literature ; and they find themselves compelled to become journalists like Bryant, editors like Poe, lecturers

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like Emerson, college professors like Lowell. They have positions in the civil service, as Wordsworth had, and Burns and Matthew Arnold. They are magistrates and sheriffs, like Fielding and Scott. They are physicians, as were the authors of "Elsie Venner" and of "Marjory Fleming." Perhaps they have inherited invested funds sufficient to support them without the necessity of earning money, as did Gibbon and Parkman.

At the present time there are in the United States half a dozen novelists, as many dramatists, perhaps an essayist or two, or a poet by chance, each of whom receives from his literary labors alone enough to live on; and there are probably twice as many in Great Britain. But for the large majority of the men of letters of to-day, literature is still what it was in Charles Lamb's time—"a very bad crutch, but a very good walking-stick." For example, when the Authors' Club was organized in New York, in 1882, by seven men of letters, only one of them was then supported wholly by literature—a novelist who happened also to be the writer of certain school-books; and of the other six one was a stock-broker, one was the editor of a magazine, two were journalists, and two had private means of their own. Among the members of the Authors' Club of late years, there have usually been ten or a dozen of the officers of instruction of Columbia University who chanced to be authors as well as professors.

Perhaps another fact will show how wide the membership of such a body must needs be. Mr. McKinley has sent five members of the Authors' Club abroad as ministers and ambassadors—Mr. Hay to London, Gen. Porter to Paris, Mr. White to Berlin, Mr. Hardy to Athens, and Mr. Straus to Constantinople. And in doing this the President was but abiding liberally by a precedent of more than one of his predecessors. Irving was minister to Spain, Motley to Austria and to Great Britain, Bancroft and Bayard Taylor to Germany, Lowell to Spain and Great Britain. In this, the great American commonwealth has been following the example of the little Italian republics, which were wont to send men of letters—Dante and Petrarch and Boccaccio—on missions of importance, perhaps desirous only to make use of their learning, and perhaps perceiving in the literary artist himself some special fitness for a delicate task.

However few the men of letters may be to-day who are supported by literature, pure and simple, they are not less numerous than they were yesterday. In our own language especially, the conditions of literature as a profession whereby a man may earn his living are far

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more favorable in the present than they ever were in the past. The expansion on both sides of the Atlantic, the swiftness of communication, the spread of education, the granting of international copyright have all united to pay the author a reward for his work never before offered. Shakespeare, at the end of the nineteenth century, would not need to be an actor to make a living. Neither would Molière, since we have also international stage-right. And Homer would not be forced to go on the road giving author's readings, in his time the sole resource of the epic poet.

Whether this will be altogether a gain may be doubted. It did not hurt Homer's epic that he was rewarded for reciting it at the banquets of the rich. It did not injure Molière and Shakespeare as playwrights that they were also players; of a certainty it helped them. It is not well for the man of letters that he should be free from close contact with the rest of mankind. It is not the worst that can happen to a genius that he should be forced to rub elbows with the common run of humanity. If a poet was able at will to withdraw into his ivory tower, to sing only when the spirit moved him, we should be likely to hear his lyre less frequently. If a man of letters could claim his share of some philanthropic endowment for genius, many a masterpiece would be missing that has been wrought under the rowel of need and the whiplash of hunger. Perhaps, if Shakespeare had not had to get his daily bread, we might have had more poems—and no plays at all. Not always is it a man's best work that is done after he has won his ease and has only himself to please. The artist, literary or pictorial or plastic, likes to dream of what he would accomplish if only he had the leisure; yet this is but a dream indeed. Give him all the time there is, and what the architect is most likely to build is only a castle in the air, after all.

To get one's living by making the thing his contemporaries can relish, this is a hardship, perhaps; but, like other hardships, it has a tonic effect of its own. This at any rate is what every one has always done; he has had to please the men of his own time. He may have wanted to echo Charles Lamb's humorous ejaculation, "Hang the age! I'll write for antiquity!" He may have believed he was working for posterity. What he had to do, after all, was to conquer his contemporaries, to wring pay from his neighbors, average men and women, keenly critical some of them and others sullenly stupid. He had to go before the jury of the vicinage and win a contemporary verdict.

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For it cannot be denied, strange as it may seem to some of us, that posterity never reverses an adverse decision. In the long annals of literature, there is not a single instance of a poet or a playwright or a prose-writer being highly esteemed in the centuries following his death who was not popular in the hundred years following his birth. And by popular, I mean that his work was enjoyed heartily by the plain people for whom it was written. We hold now that the foremost of the Greek tragedians was Sophocles; and in his lifetime he was the most popular of the three. We consider Shakespeare as the incomparable artist of the Elizabethan age; and his plays filled the theatre and drew in the groundlings better than those of any of his rivals. We extol Cervantes as the most pathetic of humorists and the most exquisite; and there were rival editions of "Don Quixote" in all the provinces of Spain within a score of years after its first appearance.

Dante, Molière, Goethe, each in his own way, was enjoyed by the average man of his own time. It is true, of course, that we see more in their masterpieces than their contemporaries could see; for it may take a century or more to give the proper perspective. It is true, also, that we see more in their masterpieces than their authors meant to put there; for they builded better than they knew, as every man of genius must. It is true, again, that in their own day it was their more obvious merits that were quickest appreciated, not to say the more superficial, and that, therefore, they had to wait for later generations really to understand and to expound the full value of what they did. The groundlings liked Shakespeare's plays, and the tavern critics praised his sugared sonnets; but while Shakespeare was yet alive no one seems to have suspected the vast supremacy of his genius. And as for Molière, Boileau alone was keen-eyed enough to have a glimmering perception of his overwhelming superiority to the other playwrights of the reign of Louis XIV.

Of course, it is not every favorite of his own generation who survives to the next—far from it. The next generation has its own favorites; and it delights in the sacrificial slaughter of the pets of its predecessor. The affirmative decisions of the present, posterity will reverse by the dozen and by the score. The negative decisions, it will never reverse. Therefore, if we want to hazard a guess as to the authors of our own time whom our great-grandchildren will be required to study in school as masters of English, we must pick from among the authors who are widely popular now. The laurels of most of the favorites of to-day will be withered and desiccated, no doubt; but

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here and there a wreath will have kept green and lustrous. One or another of the men of the present will be able to read his title clear and to take his assured place beside the masters of the past. And he will be chosen from out of those whose books are now selling widely, and not from those whom the mere critic delights to honor. In the galaxy of the gods and demi-gods of literature there will be found no star whose brightness was not hailed by the people at large while yet it was young.

What is true of literature is not less true of the other arts also. The merit of the masters is felt by the plain people, often before the professed critic is open-minded enough to perceive it. And the masters themselves are careless of professed criticism. As Michelangelo said, the test of a statue was the glance of the public eye in the plaza. To say this, of course, is not to suggest that the masters ever sought a present popularity of malice aforethought—that they ever lowered themselves to cajolery and base flattery of the many-headed beast. They wished to express themselves, to deliver the message that was in them, to do their own work in their own way, with all the individuality which is ever a certain sign of mastery ; and the plain people liked them for the humanity that was in them, for the breadth of their appeal, for their universality, at the same time caring little for their technic as such, and knowing even less. Why, indeed, should they care or know ? The eulogy of craftsmanship is for the fellow-worker only, who cherishes the difficult secrets of the trade, and loves to enlarge his store of them. The wise artist never flaunts his tricks in the face of all beholders ; he seeks rather to hide all trace of his processes. It was a damning criticism of the late Steele Mackaye that Mr. Joseph Jefferson made when he declared that Mackaye used his acting to reveal his method instead of using his method to reveal his acting.

It is well for the permanence and for the variety of literature that the man of letters should not be allowed to narrow his art to technic, that he should be compelled to make a wide appeal, and that he must rely for support not on the qualities which professed critics praise in his art, but on those which the plain people may freely find in his work. The man of letters may have his heart set on technic itself, and so best, if only his craftsmanship is a servant of his interest in life, and not a substitute for it. "Laborious, orient ivory, sphere in sphere" is for the cabinet of the collector only, not for the glance of the public eye in the plaza.

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It is the constant danger of the artist that he may come to have only technic—that he can command the art of expression, and have nothing to express. His very skill then tends to make him remote from the healthy, common mass of men ; it gives him a disquieting aloofness, and perhaps even a vague insincerity that comes to those who deal in words rather than in things. Literature cannot live by words alone ; it is but an empty voice if it has no facts, no ideas, no emotions to communicate. Men of letters are to be found in other callings partly because literature itself is but a doubtful support, and partly because in these other callings they meet their fellowmen face to face and hand to hand, and so have occasion to accumulate the facts, to clarify the ideas, and to experience the emotions, which alone can give vitality to literature. And this is why the professions that seem akin to literature—journalism and editing and lecturing—are perhaps less helpful to the development of the literary artist than the other crafts which have no relation to literature.

Bagehot gives as the reason why there are so many wretched books, that the men who know how to write don't know anything else, while the men who really know things and have really done things, unfortunately don't know how to write. We can see the truth of this saying more clearly when we recall the genuine satisfaction with which we receive the books of the men who have done something and who—by a double gift of fortune—are able to write about the things they really know. This accounts for the charm of the autobiographies of men of action—Mr. Joseph Jefferson's, for example, and Benvenuto Cellini's, the "Commentaries" of Cæsar, and the "Personal Memoirs" of Grant.

In so far as literature is an art it is its own reward ; but in so far as it is a profession it must provide a livelihood. And here is the crucial difficulty of all the arts when they are also professions. For the artist works chiefly to bring forth what is in him as best he can, for the sheer joy of the labor, in frank gratification of the play-impulse which is deep rooted in all of us. How, then, can he take pay for that which is beyond all price? When he has sought to express himself, to set down in black and white his own vision of the universe, or of any tiny fragment of it, then all-absorbing to his soul, how can money measure the delight he took in his toil? Yet, this which was wrought in secret and with delicious travail, the artist must vend in open market, in competition with his fellow-craftsmen ; putting it up to be knocked down to the highest bidder, huckstering his heart's blood,

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and receiving for it whatever the variable temper of the public may deem it to be worth at the moment.

And why not indeed? Shakespeare did this and Molière also. And shall any man of letters to-day be more dainty than they were? Cervantes did the same and Thackeray; Hawthorne did it and Turgenieff; and their art was none the less transcendent, and they themselves none the less manly. They were modest, all of them; and they never cried out that the world owed them a living, or that the times were out of joint, since they had not every day so gaudy a banquet as a stock-speculator on the eve of his bankruptcy. Each of them sold his wares as best he could, wondering, it may be, why he should be paid at all for that which it had been so keen a delight to produce. Hawthorne it was who declared that "the only sensible ends of literature are, first, the pleasurable toil of writing; second, the gratification of one's family and friends; and, lastly, the solid cash." And Stevenson insisted that "no other business offers a man his daily bread upon such joyful terms; the direct returns—the wages of the trade—are small, but the indirect—the wages of the life—are incalculably great." Thus Stevenson speaks of the artist at large; and as to the man of letters he maintains that "he labors in a craft to which the whole material of his life is tributary, and which opens a door to all his tastes, his loves, his hatreds, and his convictions, so that what he writes is only what he longed to utter. He may have enjoyed many things in this big, tragic playground of the world; but what shall he have enjoyed more?"

The true artist dreams of a remote millennium when

> "Only the Master shall praise us, and only the Master shall blame;
> And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame,
> But each for the joy of the working. . ."

Yet, if we can judge by the history of the past, it is better for the artist himself that this should remain a dream only, and that he, having worked for the joy of the working, shall then take his wages in money, like the rest of us. It is better that he should not be tenant-at-will of a separate star of his own, but a resident of this work-a-day world, where his fellowman has a residence also. It is best that he should be forced to face the realities of existence, and first of all to have the delight of his labor, and then to take the hire of which the laborer is worthy.

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The profession of literature is not for those who long for the fleshpots of Egypt, as it is not for those who dwell in the Bohemia which is a desert country by the sea. It is not for those who do not enjoy its toil and who do not love it for its own sake. It is not for those who are thinking rather of the wages than of the work. Above all, it is not for those who have a high standard of wages and a low standard of work.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

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